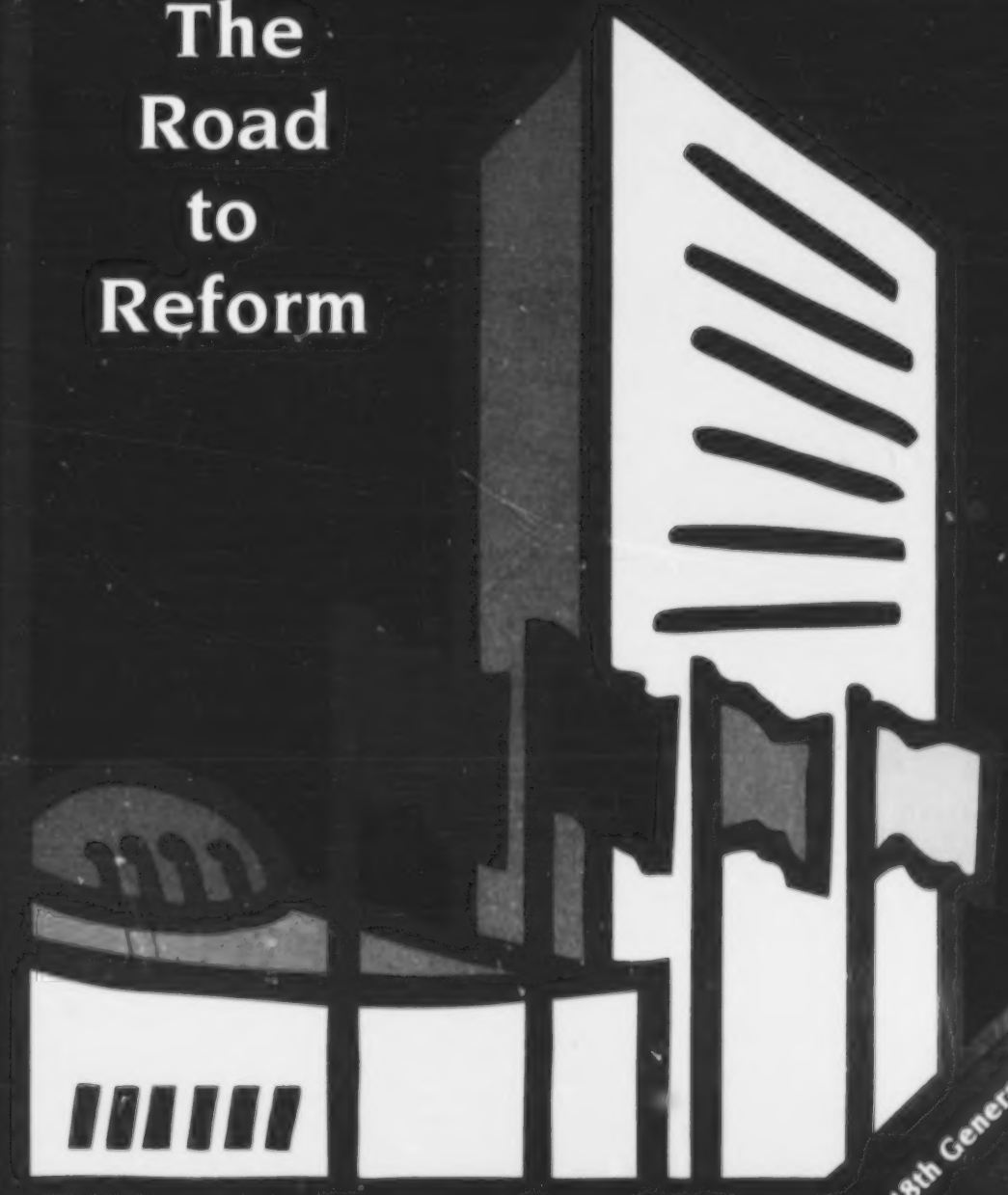
UN CHRONICLE

December 1993, Volume XXX, Number 4

The Road to Reform



The 48th General Assembly opens

OUR COVER

The Vision . . . and the Reality

The international community stands at a turning-point, faced with "an undeniable disparity between the vision and the reality", observed Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his annual report to the General Assembly. To end that disparity, an ambitious, comprehensive reform exercise has been launched, touching almost every aspect of UN activity: from measures to strengthen the United Nations as an organization, to efforts towards greater coordination of development work, to new approaches to halt or contain conflict and keep the peace.

In this issue, at a time when, as Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted, "the United Nations renaissance remains in question", our cover section aims to provide a broad picture of reform efforts under way, focusing in particular on economic and social development, as well as on UN infrastructure, financing mechanisms and peace-keeping. We hope it helps our readers to understand better what the Secretary-General has referred to as a "new activism" at the world Organization.

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December 1993

DEAR READER:

The expanding role of the United Nations in world affairs and technological advances in the dissemination of information prompt us to determine whether the *UN Chronicle* is meeting your interests and expectations.

We would greatly appreciate your taking a few minutes of your time to complete the attached questionnaire and return it, as soon as possible, to the address provided at the end of the questionnaire. Your responses will help us improve our service to you.

If this copy of the *UN Chronicle* is shared by various readers, please make a photocopy of the survey questionnaire for yourself and fill it out, so others may do the same. We are interested in hearing from everyone who reads our magazine or becomes acquainted with it for the first time.

As a token of appreciation for participating in this survey, we will mail a complimentary leaflet and a UN map to each person who responds.

We look forward to receiving your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Flynn-Connors

Elizabeth Flynn-Connors
Editor-in-Chief

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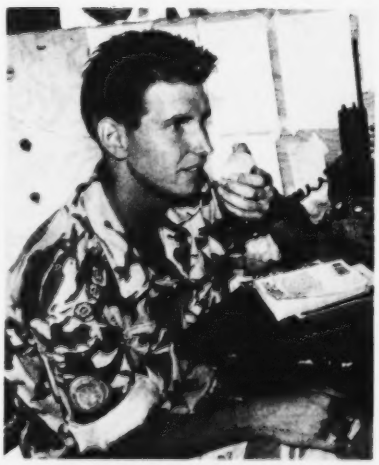

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UN CHRONICLE

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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The 38th Floor

Assembly elaborates on 'Agenda for Peace'

The forty-seventh General Assembly, in its final action of the session on 20 September, decided to consider ways and means consistent with the UN Charter to improve cooperation among competent UN organs in order to strengthen the Organization's role in the promotion of peace.

It adopted a seven-part resolution *(47/120 B)* on the Secretary-General's wide-ranging strategy, "An Agenda for Peace" *(A/47/277-S/24111)*, his report of 23 June 1992, issued in response to a request emanating from the historic 31 January 1992 Security Council summit.

Ringing the Peace Bell at UN Headquarters on International Day of Peace, 21 September.

The Assembly also decided to consider the use of existing or new machinery to facilitate consideration of any situation—except those being considered by the Security Council—with a view to recommending measures for the peaceful adjustment of such a situation.

The resolution—the culmination of nine months of consultations by the Security Council and subsequent review by the Assembly—dealt with preventive deployment and demilitarized zones, use of the International Court of Justice in the peaceful settlement of disputes, special economic problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures, post-conflict peace-building, cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations, and safety of UN peace-keeping personnel.

"An Agenda for Peace" sets out proposals for strengthening UN effectiveness in discharging its responsibilities under the Charter. The proposals, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has stated, form "a consistent and integrated set of measures to address human security in all its aspects".

In the resolution, the General Assembly urges UN organs, within their respective mandates, to consider implementing preventive deployment and/or establishing a demilitarized zone to prevent conflict and promote efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes.

States are encouraged to consider making greater use of the International Court of Justice for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and to consider the possibility of accepting the Court's jurisdiction.

Special economic problems

The Assembly decided to continue its examination of ways to implement Article 50 of the Charter, with a view to solving special economic problems of other Member States when preventive or enforcement measures were decided upon by the Security Council against a State. (Article 50 states that, if the Council takes preventive or enforcement measures against any State, any other State, whether a UN member or not, "which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult" the Council with regard to a solution of those problems.)

The Council was invited to consider measures, within the UN system and involving international financial institutions, to solve special economic problems of States arising from the carrying out of Council measures.

Council committees and other bodies that monitor the

implementation of preventive and enforcement measures should take into account the need to avoid unnecessary adverse consequences for other Member States, "without prejudice to the effectiveness of such measures".

Peace-building

The Assembly emphasized that post-conflict peace-building should be carried out in accordance with the Charter, in particular the principles of sovereign equality and political independence of States, territorial integrity and non-intervention in matters essentially within the jurisdiction of any State. It should be undertaken on the basis of agreements ending conflicts or reached after conflicts, or at the request of Governments concerned.

Regional bodies were encouraged to consider ways for promoting closer cooperation and coordination with the UN.

Expressing grave concern over the growing number of fatalities and injuries among UN peace-keeping and other personnel resulting from deliberate hostile actions in dangerous areas of deployment, the Assembly decided to consider further steps to enhance the status and safety of UN personnel.

Following the resolution's adoption, the Secretary-General told delegates the text would help to strengthen UN capacity to respond to a world in a state of rapid transition.

He was moving to implement all recommendations made on "An Agenda for Peace" by various intergovernmental organizations involved. He had set up an interdepartmental task force to work out practical measures in response to specific decisions by the Council and the Assembly.

UN work in the social and economic field was inseparable from its responsibility to promote international peace and security, he said, adding that he intended to explore those linkages further and develop a more comprehensive concept of international peace and security in the forthcoming "Agenda for Development".

In the post-cold-war period, he emphasized, the world needed a new system of maintaining international peace and security. The Assembly had taken a step towards realizing a new international consensus and framework for action in the field of international peace and security. He hoped that the implementation process would proceed vigorously. He would do all he could to facilitate it.

Nabil Elaraby of Egypt, Chairman of the Informal Open-Ended Working Group created by the Assembly President to deal with "An Agenda for Peace", said that while the "Agenda" aimed at improving the UN's capacity for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping, and post-conflict peace-building, the resolution aimed at elaborating upon and refining the Secretary-General's proposals. ■

Excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali made between 1 July and 31 October 1993.

A unique understanding . . .

Only the United Nations has the universality and the breadth of perspective to lead the world towards a new view of economic and social progress. But we cannot accomplish the task alone. As non-governmental organizations, your efforts on the ground and your unique understanding enable you to bring new ideas and new possibilities to our attention. . . . We are keen to listen. We will do our best to learn.

To the 46th Annual UN Conference for Non-Governmental Organizations
New York, 8 September

A dream for peace . . .

For many peoples around the world today, peace seems an impossible dream. The United Nations mission is to make the dream of peace come true. There are signs that peace is possible. For all the suffering and the setbacks, there have also come successes to give us hope.

On the occasion of International Day of Peace,
New York, 21 September

The danger of nationalism . . .

We know that nationalism can be dangerous. We know that sovereignty is not what it used to be. We know that new forms of international organization have come into play. But the State remains the foundation stone. . . . When the rights and the duties of all States are understood, democracy becomes possible in an international system.

To the Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Scholarship Fund of the United Nations Correspondents Association,
New York, 21 September

A new diplomacy . . .

The United Nations is faced every day with internal conflicts, civil wars, secessions, partitions, ethnic confrontations and tribal struggles. It is these new conflicts which are most threatening to international peace today and which are most damaging to the rights of individuals. We have, therefore, to invent new responses and find new solutions. We must . . . promote, in the same spirit, a new diplomacy for democracy and human rights.

On being awarded an honorary doctorate from Laval University,
Quebec City, 23 August

48th session opens amidst substantial achievements, serious set-backs

A few days before the opening of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly on 21 September, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali affirmed that the UN was "indispensable". Only it, he said, had the "universal character, the global convening power and the extensive networks which cover virtually every international function in the service of all peoples".

The United Nations "is now understood to be humanity's best hope in the pursuit of peace, development and human rights", the 71-year-old Chief Executive declared in his annual report on the work of the Organization *(A/48/1)*, issued on 10 September. "Dedicated to the integrity and development of each individual, drawing legitimacy from all peoples, expressing the consensus of States, the United Nations Organization calls forth, through its universality and dedication to life's basic tasks, a greater potential than humanity has ever before conceived possible."

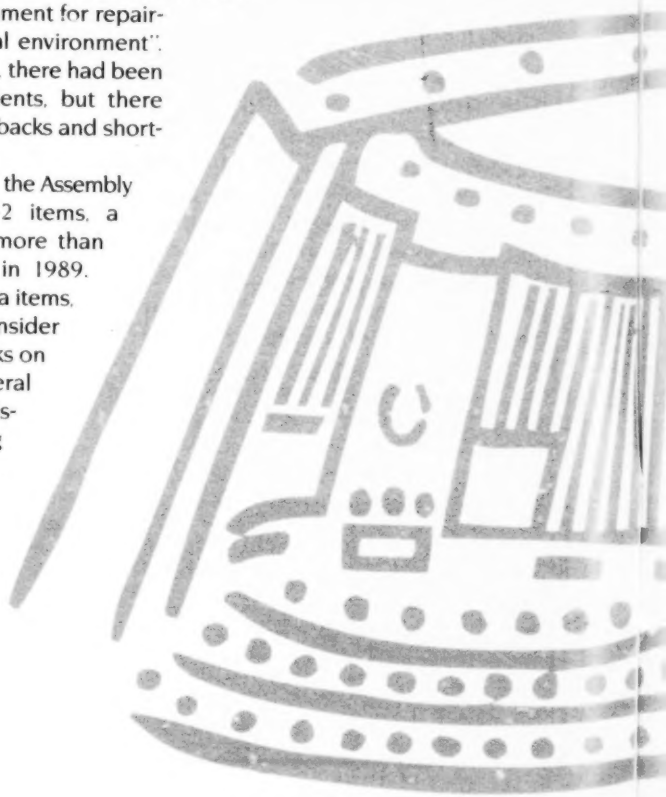
The UN's vast potential, he went on, had been recognized and had begun to be employed in the establishment of a more stable world order: "as a strengthened voice for the poorest countries, as deliverer of humanitarian relief, as guardian of human and minority rights, as rescuer of States in crisis and as an instrument for repairing a damaged global environment". In virtually every area, there had been substantial achievements, but there had been serious set-backs and shortcomings as well.

As of mid-November, the Assembly agenda included 182 items, a record number—24 more than the previous record in 1989. Among 25 new agenda items, the Assembly will consider mine clearance, attacks on UN personnel, several UN peace-keeping missions, and building peace through sport.

The Assembly's plenary is to act on a wide variety of topics, including an item on review of membership of the the Security Council—not a new item—which has prompted replies from more than 70 countries. There is general agreement that membership should be expanded, but opinions differ as to how that should be done. It will also discuss the Middle East, Central America, Haiti, and the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The agenda covers the entire spectrum of UN activities, including political, disarmament, decolonization, economic, social and humanitarian affairs, as well as legal, administrative and budgetary questions.

Among the 175 participants in the general debate—a record number—were 28 Heads of State, two Crown Princes, 13 Prime Ministers, 107 Foreign Ministers, 15 Deputy Prime Ministers, 2 other Ministers and 8 Chairmen of delegations. The annual exercise took place between 27 September and 13 October.

The forty-eighth Assembly is scheduled to recess on 21 December and officially conclude on 19 September 1994.



World body 'indispensable'

The achievements of the past year, the Secretary-General said, vastly outweighed the setbacks. Common concerns had become more evident and were more effectively expressed. The readiness to rely on the UN gave reasons for growing hope that it would fufil its original purpose and, beyond that, "prove able to adapt to the new challenges of this changing time in history".

Mr. Boutros-Ghali asserted that "democracy within States can be fully sustained over time only if it is linked to expanding democratization among States and at all levels of the international system". He warned that "the reach of the international community at this time exceeds its grasp". UN forces increasingly found themselves thrust into areas of conflict, where major Powers "are not willing to venture themselves and are reluctant to make the hard choices posed by a new era of challenges to peace".

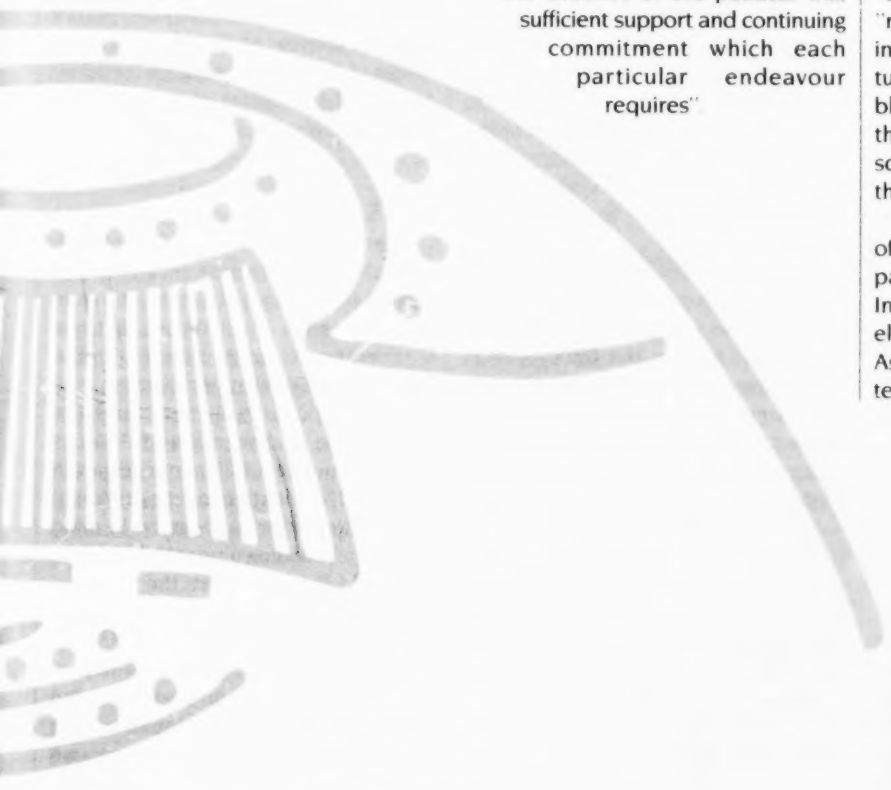
The UN, he observed, was also "struggling to keep a focus on development when the poorest countries no longer hold the same interest for the rich as they did in the previous decades of ideological competition". It could not resolve "the major problems on the international agenda in the absence of the political will, sufficient support and continuing commitment which each particular endeavour requires".

The vast potential of the UN had begun to be employed as:

- ***A strengthened voice for the poorest countries***
- ***Deliverer of humanitarian relief***
- ***Guardian of human and minority rights***
- ***Rescuer of States in crisis***
- ***Instrument for repairing the global environment***

While recent accomplishments deserved great credit, the Secretary-General stressed, they did not provide "a sense of true satisfaction". The UN "renaissance remains in question". The international community stood at a turning-point. There was "an undeniable disparity between the vision and the reality" that must be "faced squarely" by UN States Members and the peoples they represented.

Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, President of the forty-seventh General Assembly, passed the gavel to Samuel R. Insanally of Guyana, who had been elected President of the forty-eighth Assembly by acclamation on 21 September.



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Choosing by lot the Assembly seating arrangement: Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali *(centre)* with Assistant Secretary-General Benon Sevan *(left)* and Victor Sukhodrev, Director, General Assembly and Security Council Affairs.

UN Photo 183663/J. Isaac

The Secretary-General *(left)* congratulates newly-elected Assembly President Insanally *(second from left)* on 21 September.

After his election, Mr. Insanally told the Assembly that the UN would do well to come together at a summit level to address the world's economic problems and agree upon a practical programme of action for their solution. "The 'Agenda for Peace' must now be complemented by an 'Agenda for Development'."

Confidence of nations

A collective system of security would function effectively only if it enjoyed the confidence of all nations, Mr. Insanally went on. It must, therefore, be democratic in its concept and transparent in its operation. The "propagandists" of the doctrine of "failed States"—States which appear unable to govern themselves—"openly advocate the concept of spheres of influence in which strong nations will exercise a supposedly benevolent protectorate over the weak". That was "a troubling proposition" and "antithetical" to the Charter's fundamental principles, which affirmed the right of all nations to determine their own political, economic and social systems.

He emphasized that there should be a renewal of commitment by all UN members to foreswear the use of force as the preferred means of settlement of disputes. "The ethic of war must yield to the ethic of cooperation." To cope with change, the UN must find an early answer to the question of where to draw the line between self-determination and sovereignty, and between secession and respect for territorial integrity.

At the UN, "we can . . . work to build a community in which all nations will be treated with equal consideration and afforded the opportunity of full development". The Assembly was "best suited to the task of constructing a new order from the ashes of the old". The UN must be adequately endowed with human and financial resources to be able to carry out its mission.

On 23 September, Mr. Insanally told the press in New York that the year ahead would lend itself to initiatives that would further the UN's work in terms of building harmonious cooperation among nations. However, unless there was an infrastructure of stable economic and social conditions, peace could not be effectively guaranteed.

The Assembly's 21 Vice-Presidents, elected without vote, represent: Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Canada, Egypt, Grenada, Guatemala, India, Iran, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Pakistan, Poland, Republic of Korea, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, and the Security Council's five permanent members—China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States.

Nine nations—Austria, the Bahamas, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, Mauritius, Russian Federation, Thailand and the United States—were appointed to the Credentials Committee. On 14 October, the Committee recommended that the Assembly accept the formal credentials of 119 representatives of its 184 Member States for the forty-eighth session. Nitya Pibulsonggram of Thailand was elected Chairman.

New items

There were 63 items to be considered directly in plenary, including 9 of the 25 new items: observer status in the Assembly for the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Latin American Parliament, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (four separate items); UN initiative on opportunity and participation; assistance in mine clearance; building a peaceful and better world through sport; the situation in Burundi; and combatting locust infestation in Africa.

Of the other new items, the rationalization of the work and reform of the First Committee was assigned to that Committee; nine items—one on

World body 'indispensable'

UN Photo 183888/J. Isaac

UN security guards stand at attention as President Robert G. Mugabe of Zimbabwe *(centre right)* arrives at UN Headquarters.

personnel questions and eight on financing of: the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991; and UN operations in Cyprus, Cambodia, Haiti, Liberia, Georgia and two in the area of Rwanda—went to the Fifth Committee: two items—question of responsibility for attacks on UN and associated personnel and measures to ensure that those responsible for such attacks are brought to justice; and review of the procedure provided for under article 11 of the statute of the Administrative Tribunal of the UN—were to be considered by the Sixth Committee; items on UN interim offices, emergency assistance for Rwanda, and economic assistance to States affected by sanctions against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be taken up by the Second Committee; and an item on the rights of children "victims of especially difficult circumstances, including armed conflicts", would be considered by the Third Committee.

47th session concludes

At the conclusion of the forty-seventh Assembly session on 20 September, President Ganev told delegates:

"I see the future of the United Nations vested in a world mechanism for the prevention of conflicts and wars. This future is not unattainable. In the world today, there truly exist issues which warrant the attention of preventive diplomacy in which the United Nations can play a decisive role."

Never before in its history had the UN been asked "to do so much by so many". To be able to meet those challenges, the Organization must not only re-evaluate its mechanism and structure, but also its practices with a view to making it stronger and more efficient.

306 resolutions

A UN official pointed out that the forty-seventh session had held 112 meetings, dealing with 157 agenda items and adopting 306 resolutions —231 without a vote and 75 with a vote. He stressed that the Assembly was increasingly adopting resolutions without a vote or by consensus. It had admitted six new Member States—Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Monaco and the Slovak Republic—during its forty-seventh session.

On 20 September, the Assembly decided to devote in early December 1993 one plenary meeting of its forty-eighth session to launch the International Year of the Family (1994) and to observe 15 May, beginning in 1994, as the International Day of Families. It also decided to devote two plenary meetings at its 1994 session to the implementation of follow-up actions and designate those meetings as an international conference on families.

The Assembly urged Governments, specialized agencies and organizations to intensify efforts in the preparations for, and observance of, the Year. Governments concerned and prospective donors were urged to pledge contributions to the Year's voluntary fund so that funds could be released for specific family-related projects, particularly in developing countries.

The Assembly called for a concerted promotional and information campaign at all levels, with strong mass media participation. The Secretary-General was asked to give widespread publicity to the Year.

On the same day, the General Assembly adopted a resolution *(47/120 B)* on the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace", by which it decided to consider "appropriate ways and means consistent with the Charter" to improve cooperation among competent UN organs; acknowledged the importance of considering, on a case-by-case basis, the use of preventive deployment and/or establishment of demilitarized zones; and encouraged States to consider making greater use of the International Court of Justice for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Assembly also decided to continue examining ways to implement Article 50 of the Charter with a view to assisting countries with their special economic problems arising from the implementation of preventive or enforcement measures. The Assembly emphasized that post-conflict peace-building should be carried out in accordance with the Charter and affirmed its readiness to support, as appropriate, post-conflict peace-building. The Secretary-General was encouraged to continue efforts to promote cooperation between the UN and regional organizations, and further steps to enhance the status and safety of United Nations personnel involved in UN operations should be considered.

At the closing of its forty-seventh session, the Assembly concluded consideration of the following items: the situations in Haiti, Afghanistan, the Middle East, Central America and Bosnia and Herzegovina; the question of Palestine; equitable representation on the Security Council; armed Israeli aggression against Iraqi nuclear installations; report of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED); the UN's administrative and financial functioning and its current financial crisis and emergency; scale of assessments; and convening of an international conference on Somalia.

It also concluded its consideration of the financing of the UN peace-keeping forces in the Middle East—UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) and UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)—the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) and the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. It deferred for the next session consideration of the question of Cyprus; the consequences of Iraqi occupation of and aggression against Kuwait; and the UN's restructuring and revitalization in the economic, social and related fields.

In a statement on the International Day of Peace—proclaimed by the Assembly in 1981 to commemorate and strengthen the ideals of peace within and among all nations and peoples—the Secretary-General on 21 September said the UN's mission was to make the dream of peace come true. There was hope in the Middle East, as well as in El Salvador and Cambodia, and the list would grow to include Liberia, Somalia, South Africa, Central Asia and elsewhere.

UN Photo 183777/R. Da Silva

United States First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton signed the guest book at the Secretary-General's residence on 27 September, during a luncheon for wives of visiting dignitaries hosted by Mrs. Boutros-Ghali *(far left)*.

At a luncheon toast on 27 September in honour of Heads of State and Government attending the forty-eighth Assembly, the Secretary-General said the session was an opportunity to make history. The problems were many and vast, but they were "the problems of success". Together, the international community could surmount them. ■

Building upon the vision

Samuel Rudolph Insanally of Guyana, President of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, has served as his country's Permanent Representative to the UN since 1987.

Born in Georgetown on 23 June 1936, Mr. Insanally has had an extensive diplomatic career, spanning 27 years, during which he has contributed to Guyana's increased participation in various regional and international forums.

As Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Insanally led his country's delegation to two General Assembly sessions and also functioned as an Assembly Vice-President. He was Vice-President of the Council for Namibia and Vice-President of the Assembly's special session devoted to international economic cooperation, in particular to the revitalization of economic growth and development in developing countries, held in April 1990. He also has attended high-level meetings of international organizations, such as the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the Caribbean Community, and the 1981 North-South Summit in Cancun, Mexico.

From 1982 to 1986, Mr. Insanally was head of the Political Division in Guyana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During that time, he was also High Commissioner to Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and the Eastern Caribbean, and Ambassador (non-resident) to Colombia. He was Permanent Representative to the European Economic Community from 1978 to 1981 and concurrently Ambassador to Belgium and, on a non-resident basis, to Sweden, Norway and Austria.

From 1972 to 1978, Mr. Insanally served as Ambassador to Venezuela, with concurrent accreditation to Peru and Ecuador, and participated in the work of various regional organizations. As Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN in 1972, he was active in the negotiation of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade. In 1970, he was Guyana's Chargé d'Affaires to Venezuela. From 1966 to 1969, he served as Counsellor at his country's Embassy to the United States.

Mr. Insanally has written and lectured widely on the subject of diplomacy and international relations.

Early answers

Speaking before delegates on the opening day of the Assembly's forty-eighth session on 21 September, Mr. Insanally called for "early answers" to the diverse questions which "bedevil international politics".

In the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere, he said, "'ethnic cleaning'—an unacceptable euphemism for genocide and the acquisition of territory by force—is on the rampage, wreaking havoc with remarkable impunity. The most virulent forms of nationalism foster secession and bloody civil wars. Where will it all end?

"Where do we draw the line between self-determination and sovereignty, between secession and the respect for territorial integrity? These are questions which now bedevil international politics and to which we, the United Nations, must find early answers if we are to cope with change.

"Poor States cannot prosper because the odds are clearly stacked against them. The international environment in which they must operate is not conducive to their success. Because of protectionist measures, many are effectively precluded from any significant participation in the world trading system.

"At the same time, the poor, low- and middle-income nations are overburdened by debt and denied the financial assistance which they need to escape from their prison of poverty. Poverty and social distress, however, are not confined to the developing world.

"Even in the richest industrial societies, the problems of crime, disease, homelessness and an ever disintegrating social fabric have taken hold." ■

President Insanally *(centre)*

As Dag Hammarskjold reminded us: "Everything will be all right when people stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction and see it as a drawing they made themselves. The United Nations can be anything we want it to be. We, therefore, should build upon the vision of its architects so that it might long continue as the monument to international peace and cooperation".

—President Samuel R. Insanally

COMMITTEE FORECAST

On 17 August, the Assembly decided that, starting with its forty-eighth session, there would be six instead of seven Main Committees. The Special Political and Decolonization Committees would be merged, and known as the Fourth Committee. The Political and Security Committee (First Committee) would be known as the Disarmament and International Security Committee.

The Main Committees now are: Disarmament and International Security (First Committee); Economic and Financial (Second Committee); Social, Humanitarian and Cultural (Third Committee); Special Political and Decolonization (Fourth Committee); Administrative and Budgetary (Fifth Committee); and Legal (Sixth Committee).

FIRST COMMITTEE: Disarmament and International Security

Adolf Ritter von Wagner of Germany
First Committee Chairman

The Committee will consider 27 main items and some 22 sub-items, ranging from weapons of mass destruction, the issue of transparency in armaments and the UN arms register on conventional weapons to prevention of an arms race in outer space. Deliberations will concentrate on major issues such as the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the renewal of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) in 1995, and the negotiation and conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty (CTBT) in light of decisions by France, the Russian Federation and the United States to extend their moratoria on nuclear testing and their commitments to a CTBT, as well as the decision of the Conference on Disarmament to negotiate such a treaty. The Committee will pay serious attention to the implementation of confidence-building measures, ways to promote regional disarmament, as well as the role of science and technology in disarmament and other related fields. Ongoing consultations are expected on the question of convening a review conference of States Parties to Certain Conventional Weapons Convention (1980) in the near future and its appropriate preparation, as well as the pending issue of the composition of the Conference on Disarmament.

SECOND COMMITTEE: Economic and Financial

René Valéry Mongbe of Benin
Second Committee Chairman

The Committee will focus on sustainable development and environment issues relating to implementation of UNCED decisions and recommendations, including those dealing with drought and desertification, small island developing States and straddling migratory fish stocks. A number of development issues such as external debt crisis, international cooperation for the eradication of poverty in developing countries, operational activities for development, and international cooperation for economic growth and development will also be considered. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development is also on the agenda, as are special programmes of economic assistance.

The Committee has 17 agenda items, which broadly fall under four areas: economic development, including science and technology for development and debt; the environment, which is becoming one of the Committee's major agenda items because of the various follow-up activities to UNCED, including the projected conference on environment and development of small island developing States; humanitarian assistance, including the effects of the Chernobyl disaster; and socio-economic issues, such as the question of poverty, women and development, and the 1994 population conference in Cairo.

THIRD COMMITTEE: Social, Humanitarian and Cultural

Eduard Kukan of the Slovak Republic
Third Committee Chairman

With the most varied and usually the longest agenda, the Committee considers a potpourri of items relating to social, humanitarian and cultural questions. A dominating subject will be the Secretary-General's report on the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 14-25 June 1993) that adopted by consensus the "Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action" which reaffirmed, among other things, the universal character of human rights. The Conference established the interrelationship between democracy, development and human rights, and reaffirmed the obligation of States to take special measures concerning special groups, such as women and children.

The Conference recommended that the Assembly consider the question of establishing a UN high commissioner for human rights, and asked that the UN Centre for Human Rights be strengthened.

The Committee will also discuss social development items, such as preparations for the 1994 Year of the Family. Other issues concern self-determination, drugs, racial discrimination, women, youth, the disabled, the ageing and refugees. The human rights situations in certain countries will also be considered.

FOURTH COMMITTEE: Special Political and Decolonization

Stanley Kalpage of Sri Lanka
Fourth Committee Chairman

Chairman Kalpage said the process of decolonization would hopefully be completed soon. Although there were still 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories, he was convinced that by the end of the twentieth century, work concerning decolonization would have been decisively concluded.

The question of financing peace-keeping operations required the Committee's special attention. The "momentous developments" in the Middle East in 1993 would have an impact on the consideration of items dealing with the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the occupied territories.

In addition to questions relating to information, the Committee would address an item dealing with peaceful uses of outer space. The Chairman observed that the time was opportune for giving a new impetus to international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, particularly in view of recent policy changes announced by leading nations with space capability.

FIFTH COMMITTEE: Administrative and Budgetary

Rabah Hadid of Algeria
Fifth Committee Chairman

The Fifth Committee will review a number of key agenda items. Budgetary matters will occupy the Committee's deliberations.

To be considered will be the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995 which should fully reflect the effects of the UN's restructuring initiated by the Secretary-General in 1992. The budget proposes a level of resources which represents a growth of 1 per cent from the revised appropriations for the 1992-1993 biennium (from $2,467,458,200 to $2,749,064,000). The proposed increase has been primarily directed to three of four areas in the outline for the proposed programme budget approved by the 1992 Assembly—overall policymaking, direction and coordination; political affairs, peace operations and peace-building; and human rights and humanitarian affairs.

With regard to the fourth area—international cooperation for development—the intervening rationalization of structure and the elimination of duplication resulting from the reorganization of the economic and social sectors have introduced economies of scale and released resources that have enabled the Secretariat to meet additional demands in that area.

The Committee will continue to consider the UN's financial situation.

SIXTH COMMITTEE: Legal

Maria del Lujan Flores of Uruguay
Sixth Committee Chairman

Attention is expected to focus on the question of cooperation between the UN and regional organizations, and the issue of assistance to third States affected by the sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The Committee is also expected to consider the question of responsibility for attacks on UN and associated personnel, and measures to ensure that those responsible for such attacks are brought to justice. A draft convention on the safety of UN personnel is likely to result. As far as the UN Commission on International Trade Law is concerned, the Committee will have before it the text of a Model Law on Procurement of Goods and Construction. Two aspects of the report of the International Law Commission (ILC) are expected to attract the most attention: the text of a draft statute for an international criminal court, which the Commission worked out at its 1993 session and for finalization at its next session; and the draft articles on reparation, adopted by the Commission in the framework of its ongoing work on State responsibility.

Other items expected to be debated include: international terrorism; ILC draft articles on immunities of States and their property; and the UN Decade of International Law, under which the possibility of organizing a congress of public international law, and of the protection of the environment in times of armed conflict, are expected to be considered. ■

Israel-PLO agreement called 'historic achievement'

The historic self-government agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho will serve as a model to the international community on the peaceful settlement of conflict and disputes, according to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. He made the statement a day after the pact was signed on 13 September in Washington, D.C., United States, by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

The 17-article "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements" states that the two parties agree that "it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process".

The agreement states that the aim of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process was, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent peace settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The interim arrangements were an integral part of the whole peace process and the negotiations on the permanent status would lead to the implementation of resolutions 242 and 338, it was stated.

The agreement calls for: elections for the Council; permanent status negotiations covering issues on "Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbours, and other issues of common interest"; negotiations on an interim agreement; and establishment of a Palestinian police force and an Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee.

The Secretary-General, who attended the signing ceremony, met with the PLO Chairman at UN Headquarters on 14 September and conveyed his congratulations on the historic agreement. He made the following statement.

"This is an historic achievement which deserves the wholehearted support of the entire world community", he declared. "The conflict, which for decades preceded this breakthrough, was a cause for the most serious concern with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Secretary-General confirmed to Mr. Arafat that the UN system was ready to assist in the implementation of the agreement, which referred to an international presence. The UN, he said, would be prepared to provide electoral assistance if needed, and would coordinate work with organizations such as the World Bank and the

AP Wide World Photos

The handshake the world waited for: PLO Chairman Arafat *(left)*, United States President Bill Clinton *(centre)*, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin.

International Monetary Fund and the donor community through a special coordinator.

On 8 September, a high-level task force was established on development assistance to the Gaza Strip and Jericho. It would help establish an integrated UN approach towards development in those areas and identify essential projects to ensure continuation of services in the area. The task force reported in mid-September on projects by the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UN Development Programme (UNDP) in the occupied territories in the amount of nearly $250 million and proposed essential projects in the amount of $138 million, to support the transition period. The World Bank had proposed a $5.5-billion development plan over a decade.

On 13 September, the UNRWA Commissioner-General Ilter Türkmen characterized the signing of the agreement as a "momentous turning point". He hoped that the Washington ceremony would mark the beginning of the restoration of Palestinian rights, the resolution of the problem of Palestine, and the establishment of a lasting peace.

Permanent Observer of Palestine Nasser Al-Kidwa told the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on 16 September that the PLO was ready to end the state of antagonism with Israel by considering a departure from the usual UN resolutions during the forty-eighth General Assembly. It was a balanced PLO stance that took into account positive developments, while upholding basic principles. He stressed that the Israel-PLO agreement would have a broader reach than the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

At a meeting in New York on 20 September, the Secretary-General and United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher reviewed the economic and social development situation in Gaza and the West Bank. They also discussed the coordinator that the Secretary-General intended to appoint for UN assistance to Palestinians, who would initially focus on coordinating the work of UN bodies and agencies currently operating in the area—UNRWA, UNDP and UNICEF.

The Executive Board of the International Fund for Agricultural Development on 21 September endorsed a proposal to extend development aid to poor and disadvantaged farmers in the occupied territories, particularly in Gaza and Jericho.

Concern over violence

The Secretary-General on 26 July said he was alarmed and deeply concerned at the escalation of violence between Israel and Lebanon and urged "maximum restraint". Also on 26 July, the International Committee of the Red Cross appealed to all parties involved in military operations in Lebanon and Israel to respect international humanitarian law and, in particular, to spare the civilian population and property.

On 4 August, the World Food Programme said it would provide emergency food assistance to 100,000 people in southern Lebanon, who had been displaced by recent hostilities.

In response to Lebanon's request, a mission representing UN specialized agencies responsible for providing assistance and addressing humanitarian needs visited Lebanon from 8 to 13 August. On 20 August, the Secretary-General launched an appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance to people affected by the recent Israeli military attacks on southern Lebanon. The appeal presented projects totalling nearly $29 million.

The UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs said on 6 August that as a result of the attacks on southern Lebanon, which erupted on 25 July and killed 132 people and injured 500 more, some 350,000 people were forced to flee their homes, many of which were destroyed or severely damaged.

On 28 July, the Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for another six-month period, until 31 January 1994.

In unanimously adopting resolution 852 (1993), the Council reiterated its strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, and called upon all parties concerned to "cooperate fully with the Force in the full implementation of its mandate".

Council President Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom stated *(S/26183)* that the Council was concerned over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon, regretted the loss of civilian life and urged all parties to exercise restraint.

Conference on Jerusalem

Three symposia and an international meeting on Palestine involving non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were held between 30 June and 3 September.

The gatherings were: the tenth UN North American NGO symposium (30 June-2 July, New York); the seventh UN European NGO symposium (23-24 August, Vienna); the tenth UN international NGO meeting (25-27 August, Vienna); and the African seminar and NGO symposium (30 August-3 September, Dakar, Senegal).

The North American symposium recommended that the UN co-sponsor a conference on Jerusalem as part of the international search for peace and justice in Palestine, while the European symposium called on European Governments to take action to ensure Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon, the Golan Heights and the occupied Palestinian territories.

The UN international meeting initiated a worldwide campaign aimed at securing Israel's acceptance of the applicability in the occupied territories of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, while the African seminar reaffirmed that peace should be pursued through the realization of the right to self-determination of Palestinians. ■

Mandela calls for lifting of economic sanctions

Oil, arms, nuclear embargoes to remain in place

Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), on 24 September called for the lifting of all economic sanctions against South Africa—widespread embargoes imposed by the UN over the years to bring an end to that country's racially-discriminatory policy of apartheid.

Mr. Mandela, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, who had been jailed for 27 years for his opposition to apartheid, said that the historic step should not be viewed "as an act of abstention, but one of engagement", to create the best possible social and economic conditions for the victory of the democratic cause. Sanctions, he told the Special Committee against Apartheid, had brought South Africa to the point where the transition to democracy had been enshrined in the law of the country.

However, cautioning that South Africa had not yet elected a democratic and representative government, Mr. Mandela urged that the mandatory sanctions relating to arms and nuclear materials be maintained, pending the formation of a new government through elections scheduled for 27 April 1994. The issue of the oil embargo should be left to the discretion of the General Assembly's Intergovernmental Group on that matter.

Mr. Mandela wanted the international community to help halt the slide towards a socio-economic disaster in South Africa to ensure the success of a democratic transformation.

Years of apartheid had left a "swath of disaster" in its wake, he said. South Africa's economy had been devastated and millions had no food, jobs or housing. Violent crime was increasing as desperate people were willing to kill for a pittance. He expressed hope that international and South African investors would help regenerate the country's economy.

The white minority government still in place, he went on, should not be granted recognition and treated as though it were the representative of all South Africans. However, Governments could, in coordination with the Transitional Executive Council, establish a diplomatic presence in South Africa as a means of assisting its people realize common objectives. The Executive Council, established by the South African Parliament on 23 September, will provide the country's first ever non-racial participation in Government before the elections.

UN Photo 183765/J. Isaac

Nobel Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela *(centre)* at a New York press conference on 24 September, the day he called for lifting of economic sanctions. With him, Ibrahim Gambari *(right)*, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and New York City Mayor David Dinkins.

The Security Council should consider what the UN could do to ensure that the elections are free and fair. The important contribution of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) on the issue of political violence should be reviewed to ensure that the Mission adequately addresses that problem, he said.

The apartheid system treated people as though they were "disposable garbage", Mr. Mandela declared. The unprecedented global struggle had forced the regime to accept negotiations with all South Africans to transform the country into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist nation.

Countdown to democracy

The "countdown to democracy" had begun, he emphasized. On 27 April 1994, all South Africans, without discrimination, would join in the historic act of electing a government of their choice. Statutory organs and institutions to supervise free elections had been established. South Africa would no longer be governed by a white minority regime.

There were still certain forces in South Africa, he felt, that did not accept the inevitability of democracy and were using brute force to deny the advent of liberty. Those groups derived their strength from fear, instability and terrorism. And there were still other forces which, motivated by narrow sectarian interests, were also opposed to change. The international community must resist any tendency of a slide towards another Somalia or a Bosnia, a development which would have repercussions extending far beyond the borders of South Africa.

Addressing the Special Committee on 28 September, Benny Alexander, Secretary-General of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), said international sanctions against South Africa should remain in place pending the adoption of the new constitution and the election of a government controlled by the African majority.

On 23 September, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali met in New York with President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa, congratulating him on the "historic" decision of the South African Parliament to establish the Transitional Executive Council and informing him of his intention to strengthen UNOMSA. He also expressed his support for the 16 August agreement to transfer, as soon as possible, the South African enclave at Walvis Bay—the region's only deep-water port—to neighbouring Namibia. The enclave—6 by 5 miles—forms part of Cape Town province and has been under South African administration since 1922.

> **"Lifting economic sanctions would not be an act of abstention, but one of engagement"**

The Special Committee, at a two-day consultative meeting (30-31 August, Geneva) with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from North America, Europe and South Africa, heard calls for a more proactive role by the UN, especially its specialized agencies, during and after the transitional period. Disadvantaged South Africans needed urgent redress of inequalities in employment, housing, health-care delivery and education—a legacy of apartheid.

The Security Council on 24 August deplored a recent upsurge of violence and discord in South Africa, particularly in the East Rand, and affirmed that all parties must assist the Government in preventing opponents of democracy from using violence to threaten the country's democratic transition.

In a statement by Council President Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the key role of the multiparty negotiating process in securing the transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa was stressed.

The proposal for a national peace force to restore and maintain order in the country's volatile areas was noted. Any such force should be genuinely representative of South African society and its major political bodies.

Efforts by leaders of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to avoid further violence were welcomed. All South African leaders should work jointly to prevent violence during the election period.

In a 9 August message to the Special Committee, at a special meeting commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women in South Africa, the Secretary-General urged all parties in South Africa to try to overcome remaining differences and reach a workable political settlement as soon as possible.

South Africans should try to build a society based on political tolerance and the widest participation of all political and social groups. A new constitution should guarantee equality and full participation for all South African women.

Assisting refugees

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the South African Government on 6 September signed an agreement allowing UNHCR to exercise its mandate to protect and assist all refugees in South Africa.

An estimated 300,000 Mozambican refugees in South Africa were expected to be among the first to benefit from the basic agreement, an initial step towards their voluntary repatriation.

Since the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on 4 September 1991, UNHCR's role in South Africa had been restricted to repatriation. The Memorandum allowed UNHCR to help bring home thousands of South African exiles from neighbouring countries. ■

Thousands of Cambodians celebrating outside the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh. Norodom Sihanouk *(right)* was elected King of Cambodia on 24 September.

UNTAC mandate ends
New Constitution, Government welcomed

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 24 September called the creation of a new Constitution and Government for Cambodia, based on the will of the people expressed through free and fair elections organized by the UN, a "historic achievement". The elections were held from 23 to 28 May 1993.

Also, on 24 September, the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)—established in February 1992 to oversee the complex political process—ended its mandated functions, the Secretary-General stated. That successful conclusion showed what the international community could achieve when it was united and determined in pursuit of a worthy goal, and when the people concerned were willing to make mutual accommodation and concessions.

Under the "wise guidance" of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, its people had overcome more than two decades of strife and devastation, and laid a sound foundation for rebuilding a peaceful and democratic Cambodia, the Secretary-General said.

On 24 September, Prince Sihanouk was elected King of Cambodia by the Royal Council of the Throne. Acting in accordance with the newly promulgated Cambodian Constitution, King Sihanouk appointed as First Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh, his son and leader of the Front uni national pour un Cambodge independant, neutre, pacifique et cooperatif (FUNCINPEC) party, which had won 58 seats in the 120-seat Constituent Assembly. Hun Sen, whose Cambodian People's Party (CPP) had won 51 seats, was appointed Second Prime Minister.

The Cambodian people and Government would still need the assistance of the international community in the years ahead, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed. The UN, for its part, remained committed to supporting Cambodia in the continuing challenge of post-conflict nation building.

Following the appointment of the two Prime Ministers, the constituent assembly was transformed into the National Assembly, bringing the UN mandate to an end. As of 22 September, some 9,700 peace-keepers remained in Cambodia, although there were daily departures of forces. Until the completion of the military-withdrawal phase, that component would remain under the command of Brigadier-General Tuswandi of Indonesia. The Secretary-General's Special

UNTAC mandate ends

Representative, Yasushi Akashi, left Cambodia for New York on 26 September.

The last day for *Radio UNTAC* broadcasts, which had played a major role in the information programme in Cambodia, was 22 September.

On 27 August, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's plan for UNTAC's phased withdrawal, setting out timetables for the military, civilian police and other components of UNTAC, with the military withdrawal to end on 15 November.

Unanimously adopting resolution 860 (1993), the Council confirmed that UNTAC's functions under the 1991 Agreement on Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict—known as the Paris Agreements—would end upon the creation of a new Cambodian government.

The Council supported the Constituent Assembly's work on a new constitution for Cambodia. The Paris Agreements call for the Assembly to approve the constitution and create a new government within three months after elections.

In two reports, the Secretary-General outlined UNTAC's phased withdrawal and recommendations on a continuing UN presence in Cambodia.

On 26 August, the Secretary-General recommended *(S/26360)* that the Council extend UNTAC's mandate until 15 September or perhaps further, if by then the new government had not been formally established.

Once UNTAC's job was over, he said, the people and new government of Cambodia would require continued international support to safeguard the fruits of the tremendous efforts already made.

Although it had been suggested that the UN should maintain a small military presence in Cambodia, the Secretary-General had decided not to recommend that to the Council, unless a request were to come from the new Cambodian Government for such a post-UNTAC military presence, since he believed that the correct course was to terminate the UN military presence and concentrate resources on civilian peace-building activities.

Indeed, on 26 September, the Secretary-General received a letter, signed by the two Prime Ministers, which referred to the tensions that will remain in Cambodia after the end of UNTAC's mandate and, in this context, formally requested the UN to dispatch some 20 to 30 unarmed military observers to Cambodia for a period of six months.

The Secretary-General intended to establish an integrated office in Phnom Penh, with the primary function of coordinating, in close consultation with the Cambodian Government, the full range of civilian activities undertaken by various UN agencies, including promoting development, providing humanitarian assistance and fostering respect for human rights. The Office would also deal with certain residual issues under the Paris Agreements.

The withdrawal plan is divided into three phases. The first, involving planning and preparation, had ended on 31 July. In phase II (1-31 August), the gradual withdrawal of infantry battalions would commence. In phase III (1 September-15 November), the remaining UNTAC elements were successively to withdraw completely.

A new Centre for Human Rights in Cambodia has been established in Phnom Penh.

Almost the entire staff of the electoral component had left Cambodia, except for the Director and his immediate staff, who would assist the Constituent Assembly. The civil administration component would maintain a relatively strong presence—more than 100—during the rest of the transitional period. The chief purpose was to maintain an UNTAC presence for confidence-building purposes and to provide technical assistance to the Interim Joint Administration. It was not anticipated that any civilian staff would remain in the provinces following withdrawal of the military component.

Regarding the disposal of UNTAC assets, the Secretary-General said that as much equipment as possible would be extracted for use in other missions, but some equipment and installations could be purchased for donation to the new Cambodian Government.

UN Photo P. S. Sudhakaran/186084

Radio UNTAC, which played a major role in providing election information to Cambodians, stopped broadcasting on 22 September.

Post-UNTAC needs of the Government were discussed by the International Committee on Reconstruction of Cambodia (Paris, 8-9 September), including budgetary support, public administration reform, mine clearance, resettlement of displaced persons, agriculture, social service, maintenance of public utilities and repair of the transportation system and other infrastructure. Special Representative Akashi had asked the co-Presidents of the Interim Joint Administration to draw up a list of their most immediate requirements.

Despite the widespread rebuilding of roads, bridges and other infrastructure by UNTAC military engineers

over the past 18 months and the upgrading of airports and communications facilities, massive reconstruction was still required throughout the country. The UN Trust Fund for Demining Programmes in Cambodia would be maintained until alternative funding arrangements could be made.

In a 16 July report *(S/26090)*, the Secretary-General said he was convinced that the international community would respond generously to Cambodia's needs as it continued the difficult process of rebuilding the nation after years of strife and devastation.

Mr. Akashi on 5 August said the problem of the influx of Vietnamese work-seekers could only be resolved through the rejection of violence, careful analysis of the problem and adoption of appropriate laws.

An UNTAC official on 3 August reported a disturbing increase in military action in Cambodia which could best be described as terrorist activities.

In a 16 July letter *(S/26096)*, the Security Council agreed with the Secretary-General's views, expressed in a 14 July letter *(S/26095)* to the Council President, in which the Secretary-General observed that the success of the recent elections in Cambodia marked the beginning of a particularly delicate phase in the country's transition from conflict to peace and democracy.

During the coming months, it would be essential that the Interim Joint Administration structures be able to function properly, and that neither social unrest nor macro-economic disorder be allowed to take hold.

It was also important that all those serving in the public domain—be they civil servants, police or members of the armed forces—begin the process of redirecting their allegiances from the factions of the past to the future constitutional Government. According to Mr. Boutros-Ghali, that would contribute to a more stable environment for the Constituent Assembly to complete its work and a smooth and orderly transfer to the new Government as envisaged in the Paris Agreements.

It was in the interests of Cambodia and of all those that had supported the peace process that those objectives be attained, he stressed. Yet, he pointed out, there was mounting evidence that without sufficient external support those goals might be in jeopardy.

Urgent measures must be taken to enable UNTAC to provide, for the remainder of the transitional period and in consultation with the Cambodian authorities, emergency financial assistance in support of the process of restructuring and adjustment of the administrative, police and military structures of the Interim Joint Administration, the Secretary-General said, adding that his Special Representative had advised that the funding required to achieve those objectives would be $20 million. ■

UN Photo 186145/J. Isaac

The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Yasushi Akashi, shown *above* with local political leaders, oversaw the complex transition to peace and democracy in Cambodia.

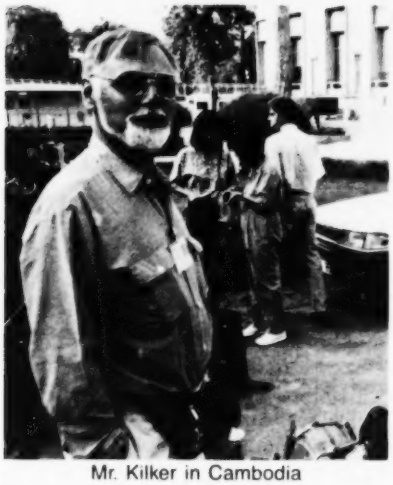
UN Photo 184198/M. Grant

Cambodia's First Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh *(left)* and Second Prime Minister Hun Sen *(right)*, meeting with Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 4 October.

UN Photo 186111/J. Isaac

The Cambodian people now have a sound foundation for a peaceful future.

A PERSONAL VIEW



Mr. Kilker in Cambodia

The Cambodian people win

by Jery Kilker

Retired UN staffer Jery Kilker, who served as the World Health Organization Information Officer at UN Headquarters in New York from 1985 to 1992, headed the UNTAC Information Centre in Phnom Penh from April to July 1993. During the Cambodian elections, he worked as a polling station officer and ballot counting supervisor. Mr. Kilker observed: "Everyone who served in Cambodia during the recent peace-building exercise has a different story to tell. This is my perspective."

Some of the many things that struck me about Cambodia were the underlying beauty of the country and the people, and how much had been accomplished by the Khmer civilization over the centuries.

I was terribly impressed by how well all the non-Cambodian organizations and individuals got along and worked for the well-being of the country. It was like being in the stereotypical "Wild West", where persons with all kinds of skills came from many different directions to a place where new rules were being made: entrepreneurs were introducing goods and services, humanitarians were helping develop social services, civil servants were assisting in the establishment of government services, and law officers imported from the outside were seeking to establish order.

The many thousands of well-meaning "experts" came to Cambodia to share ideas, materials, and resources to replace those that had been taken away or destroyed during the previous 20 years.

Among the newcomers were a number of "returnees", Cambodians who settled in countries far away and who had come back home to impart new skills to their compatriots. One family, for instance, originally from Phnom Penh but which had resettled in Los Angeles, opened a small and popular restaurant called, not surprisingly, "California." The wife is teaching her relatives how to prepare and serve a different and marketable cuisine and to operate a small business. A son, beginning medical school, intends returning to his homeland and helping deliver much-needed health services.

The most eager to help with the "revelopment" of the new Cambodia are the considerably larger number of Cambodians who experienced 20 years of extreme cruelty and deprivation in the country or who grew up in refugee camps just outside. The eagerness is there, perhaps out of a profound buoyancy for the future or in the realization that there is no reasonable alternative.

The balloting started on Sunday, 23 May 1993, at the beginning of the May-to- October south-western monsoon season with its strong winds, high humidity, and heavy rains. There were hopes among the election planners that the voting would take place during the good weather just before the monsoon. Those responsible for security prayed for fair weather, then heavy rains to bog down any military objections to the results. In fact, the first heavy rain came down the very night before the polls opened and continued throughout the first polling morning. The deluge slowed down the delivery of ballot papers and boxes and the Kday Chas station in Kandal province, where I was posted, was an hour late in opening.

At daybreak, Cambodian women were impatiently waiting in the rain for their chance to vote. For cultural reasons, the women voted first, then the men, who had been standing to one side, then the Abbot from the temple from across the road, followed by the other monks, then the soldiers who were in uniform but without weapons. Throughout this one morning, about 75 per cent of those who would vote during the entire three-day period waited eagerly in a festive mood for their chance to vote.

Other sites were less peaceful: staff were given bullet-proof vests and military helmets and some locations were shelled.

Later, during the province-by-province ballot counting, we found expressions of appreciation and hope written on some of the ballot papers. (And, while they did not appear in the final tally, the "United Nations" also received some votes.)

At a time when the United Nations is searching for durable formulas for domestic peace, the Cambodian example is a tempting but still incomplete success. The people have spoken and politicians of many hues have responded. However, Cambodia is still a fragile flower of the Orient and will require continued nurturing.

The UN cannot fill all the interstices of a society's development. Along with the Cambodian people and their new Government, the energy and creativity of non-governmental organizations and entrepreneurs will be required to build together a new and peaceful Cambodia. ■

Attaining democracy: A 'lengthy and difficult task'

Sanctions lifted, then reimposed

Steps continued to be taken towards the resumption of the democratic process in Haiti, with the confirmation of a new Prime Minister and the authorization of the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to help implement the 3 July Agreement signed at Governors Island in New York.

Under that accord, the international community is to provide Haiti with assistance for modernizing its Armed Forces and establishing a new Police Force, and technical and financial support for development and administrative and judicial reform, following a dialogue aimed at a political truce and creation of conditions necessary for a peaceful transition.

The Agreement specified that a Prime Minister be nominated and confirmed before the scheduled return to Haiti on 30 October of its first democratically-elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted in a September 1991 coup. It also called for the retirement of Lieutenant-General Raoul Cédras as Commander-in-Chief of the Haitian Armed Forces.

The dialogue between the political forces and parliamentary blocs was held at UN Headquarters from 14 to 16 July.

That meeting resulted in the signing of the "New York Pact" which, among other things, provided for a six-month political truce to enable the normalization of the Parliament and for agreements to confirm the Prime Minister.

On 22 and 28 July, a new bureau was elected in the Haitian Chamber of Deputies, and, on 10 August, in the Senate. The new Prime Minister, Robert Malval, was confirmed and assumed office on 31 August.

The Security Council, in unanimously adopting resolution 861 (1993) on 27 August, suspended the oil and arms embargo against Haiti.

However, the sanctions were reimposed under resolution 873 (1993) of 13 October and tightened three days later in resolution 875 (1993), after the Haitian military authorities, according to the Secretary-General, were found to be in "serious and consistent non-compliance" with the Governors Island Agreement.

"Getting democracy and economic development under way in Haiti will be a lengthy and difficult task", Dante Caputo, Special Envoy for Haiti of the Secretaries-General of the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS), stated on 23 September. "Reality cannot be changed with the wave of a wand: democracy is not built in a matter of days. It takes years; well-being is achieved only after prolonged effort."

Resolution 867: UNMIH established

The establishment and immediate dispatch of UNMIH for a period of six months was authorized by the Security Council on 23 September. In unanimously adopting resolution 867 (1993), the Council called upon the Government of Haiti to ensure the safety of UN personnel, as well as the Mission's freedom of movement and communication. All factions in Haiti were called upon "explicitly and publicly" to renounce violence as a means of political expression.

The Mission—to be comprised of up to 567 UN police monitors and a 700-strong military construction unit, including 60 military trainers—is to provide guidance and training to "all levels of the Haitian police" and monitor the way in which the operations were implemented.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to place the Mission under Special Envoy Caputo, so that UNMIH might benefit from the experience of the International Civilian Mission, established under General Assembly resolution 47/20 B of 20 April 1993.

Expressing appreciation for the constructive role of OAS, in cooperation with the UN, in promoting a solution of the political crisis and the restoration of democracy in Haiti, the Council stressed the importance of close coordination in their work in Haiti.

UN Photo 184112/I. Isaac

Resolution 862: Advance team

An advance team was sent to Haiti on 8 September to assess requirements and prepare for UNMIH deployment, as requested by the Security Council on 31 August in resolution 862 (1993).

Led by Mr. Caputo, the team met with Haitian officials representing the Constitutional Government and the Armed Forces, including Prime Minister Malval and Lt.-Gen. Cédras.

While both sides wanted to pursue

the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26480)* on 21 September that they were still "divided by deep mistrust and suspicion". Also, the political and social climate in Haiti was characterized by "widespread violations of human rights and other instances of violence".

In those circumstances, he recommended the creation of UNMIH, as there was an "urgent need to demonstrate through concrete steps the commitment of the international community to the solution of the Haitian crisis".

Resolution 861: Sanctions suspended

The oil and arms embargo against Haiti—imposed under resolution 841 (1993) of 16 June—was suspended by the Security Council on 27 August, following the ratification of the new Prime Minister.

UN Photo 183339

UN Photo 184594/R. Da Silva

Working towards a solution: Haitian Prime Minister Robert Malval *(far left)* with Secretary-General Boutros Boutrcs-Ghali; Special Envoy Dante Caputo *(centre)* and Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide *(far right)*.

In unanimously adopting resolution 861 (1993), the Council confirmed, however, its readiness to "terminate immediately" the suspension and reimpose sanctions if, at any time, it was informed that the parties to the Agreement had not complied with it in good faith.

The initial embargo—in effect since 23 June—had prevented the sale of petroleum, petroleum products, arms or related *matériel* to Haiti, and had frozen all overseas assets controlled by the *de facto* Government or authorities of that country.

Resolution 873: Sanctions reimposed

On 13 October, the Security Council decided to reimpose its oil and arms embargo against Haiti as of 2359 hours Eastern Standard Time on 18 October, unless the parties to the 3 July Agreement reinstated the legitimate Government of President Aristide and enable UNMIH to carry out its mandate.

In unanimously adopting resolution 873 (1993), the Council said it would consider additional sanctions, if the authorities in Haiti continued to "impede the activities of UNMIH or interfere with its freedom of movement and communication" or have not complied with the Security Council resolutions or the Governors Island Agreement.

Funds frozen pursuant to resolution 841 could be released at the request of President Aristide or Prime Minister Malval, the Council ruled.

On 13 October, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/26573)* that incidents on 11 October—in which armed civilians ("attaches") prevented the landing in Port-au-Prince of a UNMIH contingent—constituted "serious and consistent non-compliance" by the Haitian Armed Forces with the Agreement.

He noted the "repeatedly observed lack of will" on the part of the Armed Forces to facilitate the deployment of UNMIH and to act against groups of armed civilians who were "sowing terror" through assassinations, attacks on the offices of the Prime Minister, and the general strike "against UNMIH". Moreover, police had facilitated and, in some cases, participated in those actions.

Also, most of the instructions issued by the Government to the Armed Forces and police had not been carried out, in "clear violation of the principle of the subordination of military forces to civilian authority", which was a central feature of the Agreement, the Secretary-General said. All that reflected a lack of will to cooperate fully in the peaceful transition to a democratic society.

In a 11 October statement *(S/26567)* by its President, Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg of Brazil, the Council had warned that "serious and consistent non-compliance" with the Agreement would prompt the Council to "reinstate immediately" the embargo.

A similar warning had been issued on 17 September. In a statement *(S/26460)* by its President, Adolfo Raul Taylhardat of Venezuela, the Council pronounced that "unless there is a clear and immediate effort" to put an end to the "present levels of violence", it would have "no alternative" but to reinstate the sanctions.

Resolution 875: Embargo tightened

Member States were called upon by the Security Council to ensure strict implementation of the embargo against Haiti, and in particular to halt ships travelling to Haiti, in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations.

By unanimously adopting resolution 875 (1993), the Council on 16 October also confirmed that it was prepared to

consider further necessary measures to ensure full compliance with its relevant resolutions.

Reaffirming that, in "these unique and exceptional circumstances", the failure of military authorities in Haiti to fulfil their obligations under the Agreement constituted a threat to international peace and security, the Council called on Member States to use appropriate measures to implement the sanctions imposed under resolutions 841 and 873.

On 15 October, President Aristide wrote *(S/26587)* that the Council's reimposition of sanctions was an acknowledgement of the fact that the perpetrators of the *coup d'etat* and their allies were "impeding the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the application of the Governors Island Agreement".

Moreover, the assassination on 14 October of the Minister of Justice, François-Guy Malary, showed to what extent the situation continued to deteriorate and threaten the lives of Haitian citizens.

Assistance urged

As the people of Haiti were "facing the daunting challenge of building democracy in conditions of extreme poverty", the world community should become "actively involved" in the economic and institutional reconstruction of that country, Special Envoy Caputo stated on 27 August.

An appeal for $62.7 million to meet urgent humanitarian needs of Haitians was renewed on 10 August by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the OAS. Launched in March, the appeal—covering health care, nutrition, water supply, food aid, agriculture and sanitation—had so far elicited a very weak response.

In other developments, an emergency economic recovery programme for Haiti was announced by the UN Development Programme in August. Estimated at $425 million, the programme would address immediate social and economic problems, promote economic efficiency, and recommend action to improve conditions for disadvantaged groups. ■

El Salvador: More aid needed to consolidate democracy

Since reconstruction, sustained economic recovery and peace are interdependent—forming a "central axis for the consolidation of the democratic peace process"—El Salvador needs more international assistance to "consolidate and conclude this extraordinary experiment and this example of peace, reconciliation, reconstruction and development", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali indicated on 3 September.

The Government of El Salvador in turn had to accelerate the land transfer programme and ensure the "free and massive participation of the people in the voting" scheduled for March 1994, the Secretary-General stated *(A/48/310)*.

After the inauguration of the new Government, he said, the Salvadorians were to build a "firm and lasting peace" within a "democratic, pluralistic and truly participatory" regime, a reactivated and transformed economy", and a "modern and independent State under the rule of law".

Reconstruction process

El Salvador was embarking on its reconstruction process with an "economic base equivalent to that of a quarter century ago", with two thirds of its population living in poverty, "of whom one third in extreme poverty", the Secretary-General stated. The damage caused to "physical, productive and social infrastructure" during the 1980-1990 period was valued at over $1.5 billion.

Compounding those economic, political and institutional obstacles were "serious population and environmental problems", he reported. El Salvador was the "most densely populated country of the Americas" and had the highest degree of soil erosion, the most polluted water system and the highest rate of deforestation in Latin America.

Although the human rights situation in El Salvador was described as "very mixed", the trend towards a definite improvement continued, especially with the absence of enforced disappearances and torture, the Director of the Human Rights Division of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) stated *(A/48/968-S/26033)* on 2 July.

Violations were occurring in a "qualitatively different framework" as compared to the past, since they were "not a reflection of the will of the State", but rather acts to be interpreted as carry-overs from the situation that existed prior to the signing of the peace agreements.

Promise to comply

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 7 July stated that the Government of El Salvador had promised to comply with the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on the purification of the Armed Forces.

ONUSAL had verified that 15 high-ranking officers had been placed on leave with pay, as envisaged in the plan presented by El Salvador President Alfredo Félix Cristiani-Bukard.

On 30 August, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26371)* that the military structure of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) had been "effectively dismantled" and former combatants had been reintegrated into the civil, institutional and political life of the country, as established in the Peace Accords. Verification and destruction of FMLN weapons and equipment had been completed on 18 August.

Sanctions extended

Discussions continue on bringing suspected bombers to trial

The arms and air embargo against Libya, in effect since 15 April 1992, was extended by the Security Council on 13 August.

In resolution 748 (1992) of 31 March, by which the embargo was established, the Council decided the sanctions should be reviewed "every 120 days or sooner, should the situation so require".

The embargo prevents Libya from receiving arms and related material of all types, and prohibits air traffic to or from that country. It was imposed after France, the United Kingdom and the United States complained that Libya had failed to respond effectively to their requests for full cooperation in establishing responsibility for the terrorist bombings of Pan Am Flight 103 on 21 December 1988 over Lockerbie in Scotland, in which 270 persons were killed, and of Union de transport aériens (UTA) Flight 772 on 19 September 1989 in Niger, in which 171 persons died.

In the meantime, discussions continued on ways to bring to trial two Libyan nationals accused of the Pan Am bombing.

In a 13 August tripartite declaration *(A/48/314-S/26304)*, France, the United Kingdom and the United States stated that, in the interest of giving Libya one last chance, they had asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to take the necessary steps to achieve the full implementation by the Libyan Government of resolution 731 (1992) within 40 to 45 days.

(By resolution 731, adopted unanimously on 21 January, the Council had asked the Secretary-General to seek Libya's cooperation to provide a full and effective response to requests in establishing responsibility for those "terrorist acts" and the resultant loss of lives, "so as to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism".)

If, by 1 October, the Libyan Government had failed to comply with resolutions 731 and 748, "including the transfer to the United States or United Kingdom of jurisdiction of the Lockerbie suspects and compliance with the requests of French justice on UTA 772", the three nations stated, "we will table a resolution strengthening the sanctions in key oil-related financial and technological areas."

The Governments reiterated that they had no hidden agenda; on the contrary, upon full implementation of Council resolutions by Libya, conditions would be met for lifting the sanctions.

Libya 'indignant'

In a 14 August statement *(S/26313)*, Libya said it had spared no effort to comply with international law. It was indignant that the Council had maintained sanctions against Libya despite the divergence of views apparent in recent Council consultations. Libya was prepared to negotiate with the parties concerned and with the Council in order to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis.

It was "astonishing", Libya declared, that France, the United Kingdom and the United States had set a time-limit of a matter of weeks for the resolution of a problem of such proportions.

On 19 July, Libya told *(S/26139)* the Secretary-General that implementation of resolution 748 since 15 April 1992 had caused "large-scale injury" to its people "in various humanitarian and economic aspects of life".

In a resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its fifty-eighth ordinary session (Cairo, 21-26 June), grave concern was expressed at the escalation of the crisis, the threats of additional sanctions and the use of force as a pattern of relations among States.

"A just and fair trial of the suspects in a neutral country to be agreed upon by all parties concerned" was called for. The Security Council was urged to reconsider resolution 748 and lift the embargo, "in view of the positive initiatives" taken by Libya in addressing the crisis.

Mission suggested

On 28 July, Libyan Foreign Minister Omar Mustafa Al-Muntasser, meeting in New York with the Secretary-General, suggested that a mission be sent to Libya to verify that there were no terrorist training camps there and to discuss the trial of the two suspects.

On 14 September, the Secretary-General met with Ambassador Abdel Kader El-Obeidi, the Libyan Government's special envoy, who delivered a letter *(S/26500)* from Foreign Minister Al Muntasser, to which was attached a memorandum regarding implementation of resolutions 731 and 748.

A UN official said that the memorandum included a set of questions and a request for guarantees in the event that the two suspects in the Lockerbie case voluntarily surrendered. The Secretary-General, he said, was studying the document and would continue his contacts with the parties concerned in his efforts to seek the cooperation of Libya in the implementation of Council resolutions.

On 28 September, the Secretary-General again met with the Libyan Foreign Minister, who "confirmed the acceptance by his Government that the two Libyan suspects appear before a Scottish court". The question of timing was still under discussion.

In a 29 September letter *(S/26523)* to the Secretary-General, the Foreign Minister said Libya would encourage the two suspects to go to trial. However, there was only one more step that had to be taken to resolve the crisis, which was to convince the suspects, their families and their lawyers to go to trial. ■

UNOSOM objectives affirmed, despite continuing violence

UNOSOM II personnel have been commended for their "achievements in greatly improving the conditions of the Somali people".

As violent clashes involving UN peace-keepers patrolling Mogadishu neighbourhoods escalated, the Security Council on 22 September affirmed the importance of successfully fulfilling the objectives of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), so that its operation could be completed by March 1995.

In unanimously adopting resolution 856 (1993), the Council enumerated UNOSOM's objectives: the "facilitation of humanitarian assistance and the restoration of law and order, and of national reconciliation in a free, democratic and sovereign Somalia".

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was urged to redouble his efforts to continue the process of national reconciliation and political settlement, and to help the Somali people in rehabilitating their institutions and economy. He was to provide a detailed plan setting out UNOSOM II's future strategy regarding its humanitarian, political and security activities.

Attacks on UNOSOM II personnel were condemned, and those ordering such "criminal acts" would be held individually responsible, the Council stressed.

The Secretary-General, his Special Representative for Somalia—Admiral Jonathan Howe of the United States—and all UNOSOM II personnel were commended for "their achievements in greatly improving the conditions of the Somali people", in particular eradicating starvation, establishing district councils, opening schools and helping in the resumption of normal life in most areas of the country.

The Council stressed the importance of continuing the peace process initiated by the Addis Ababa Agreement signed by Somali faction leaders on 27 March.

It also approved the Secretary-General's recommendations on re-establishing the Somali police, judicial and penal systems, and welcomed the proposal to convene a meeting of Member States interested in supporting UNOSOM II in accomplishing its task.

In Council debate, speakers voiced support for the continuing efforts of UNOSOM to reconstruct Somalia's institutions and economy, despite the violence in Mogadishu.

The United States said resolution 865 did "two crucial things": it set out in clear, unambiguous terms that the UN's principal goal in Somalia was to bring about political reconciliation in the country; and it lent support to the basic building-blocks of new political institutions—a police, judiciary and penal system.

The Russian Federation said the Mission's highest priority task was to support the Somali people in carrying out the process of national reconciliation, and to advance the restoration of regional and national institutions and civilian administration throughout the country.

Djibouti, a neighbouring State, said: "Little of lasting substance will be achieved unless the threat of violence is removed". Rapid disarmament should remain a priority. "A nation, a non-State", was being resurrected and the UN must "leave no stone unturned to complete its mission".

UNOSOM objectives affirmed

Deviating from goals?

Concerns over the direction taken by UNOSOM II were addressed by the Secretary-General in a 17 August report *(S/26317)*. He said he was "conscious of the feeling in some quarters that UNOSOM is deviating from its primary task of ensuring the safe distribution of humanitarian assistance" and was "concentrating disproportionate efforts and resources in military operations".

While some of that criticism was "motivated by good intentions", the Secretary-General said, effective disarmament of all factions and warlords was essential. "Unless disarmament is fully implemented, it would not be reasonable to expect UNOSOM to fulfil other aspects of its mandate", he stated.

Support for the UN effort and the need for disarmament in Somalia had been voiced by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Horn of Africa Standing Committee, as well as by the Secretaries-General of the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs James O. C. Jonah, at a 16 July press briefing in New York, said that if the UN showed a "weakening of nerve" in response to attacks on UNOSOM forces by the faction of General Mohamed Farah Aidid, head of the Somali National Alliance (SNA), it could affect other warlords who had waited for UN reaction and, ultimately, the situation would "return to chaos".

On 21 July, Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations Kofi A. Annan stated that the fighting between UNOSOM II forces and members of Gen. Aidid's faction did not mean that UNOSOM had "detracted from its original mandate and become a military operation". The existence of a secure environment "is a *sine qua non* for the achievement of the humanitarian and political objectives of the mandate of UNOSOM II", he said.

"A lot of people have looked at what we're doing in Mogadishu and lost sight of what we're doing in Somalia", Special Representative Howe said on 16 September. The UN was working on a two-year recovery plan for Somalia, he said, based on the Addis Ababa Agreement.

Continuing skirmishes between UN peace-keeping forces and Gen. Aidid's faction had resulted in numerous deaths among UNOSOM II members, Somali gunmen and civilians. As of the end of September, more than 60 UNOSOM II soldiers had been killed.

On 1 July, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26022)* on the 5 June attacks and subsequent UNOSOM II action. Violence occurred mostly in the southern part of Mogadishu where Aidid forces were strong, it was stated. Other incidents included the 12 July killing of four journalists by a Somali mob; the 8 August explosion that killed four American soldiers; and the 5 September killing of seven Nigerian soldiers. Elsewhere in Somalia, the UN reported significant achievements in ending the country's famine and promoting peace and the reconstruction of Somali society.

The current cycle of violence in Mogadishu started with the 5 June ambush of Pakistani soldiers at weapons storage sites and a feeding station. As a result, some 25 died and there were at least 57 more casualties. It is considered the deadliest single attack ever suffered in recent times by a UN peace-keeping force.

UNOSOM II troops subsequently launched a widespread effort to disarm Somalis, restore security in the city, and ultimately detain Gen. Aidid, accused of orchestrating the killings and other attacks against UN peace-keepers.

Special Representative Howe said on 16 September that the UN was being "challenged and its mandate was being obstructed daily and in every way" by the Aidid militia, known as the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA). UNOSOM II tried to minimize civilian casualties in every undertaking, but they could not be avoided when civilians were mixed in with the attackers.

Gen. Aidid's authorization of the 5 June attack on Pakistani peace-keepers was "supported by clear and convincing evidence", an independent UN investigation of the incident concluded *(S/26351)*.

On 24 August, Professor Tom Farer of the American University in Washington, D.C., United States, who conducted the investigation as an independent expert, reported that "a large and complex body of evidence" supported the conclusion that Gen. Aidid had not only the means, motive and opportunity to perpetrate such a crime, but that "he had that trinity uniquely".

Reuters/Bettmann

The bodies of two UNOSOM peace-keepers killed in an ambush in Mogadishu are transported home for burial.

The attacks occurred in a sector of Mogadishu that SNA had long dominated. Also, one of Gen. Aidid's closest associates on 4 June had threatened that UNOSOM II's planned inspections of designated weapons sites would lead to "war", the report stated.

Command and control debate

A "serious and sensitive problem" regarding command and control over UN peace and security operations had arisen in UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General reported on 17 August *(S/26317)*.

The actions of some contingent commanders had had the effect of "weakening the integrity of UNOSOM's military command structure", perhaps owing to the particularly complex and dangerous conditions under which the Mission was operating, the Secretary-General said. He referred mainly to differences between the commanders of the Italian contingent in Mogadishu and of UNOSOM II, regarding military operations in the city.

Those difficulties were settled after clarification at the political and operational levels, the Secretary-General reported. Italy had asked that its Mogadishu units be redeployed elsewhere in Somalia, and that request had been accepted.

While reinforcement of UNOSOM II military units had "not been as rapid as planned", the Secretary-General went on, the force was progressively being built up to the authorized level of 28,000.

Its strength in mid-August was a little over 20,000 troops and other personnel from 27 countries. In addition, a United States Quick Reaction Force, with a total of 1,167 of all ranks, was deployed in support of UNOSOM, but was not part of the UN force.

The inability of some countries to provide troops within the scheduled time-frame had delayed extending UNOSOM activities throughout Somalia and emboldened those who wished to undermine UN efforts, the Secretary-General said.

Disarmament efforts

The Secretary-General's report also detailed UNOSOM II activities up to 31 July.

"Disarmament is indispensable for the establishment of peace and stability in Somalia", he said. It had been mandated by the Security Council and agreed upon by leaders of Somali political factions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January and March.

Reuters/Bettmann

A UN convoy winds through the streets of Belet Huen.

Disarmament efforts were "aimed primarily at the militias which had intimidated and terrorized Somali society, and their heavy weapons". If some factions refused to disarm voluntarily, "UNOSOM is left with no choice but to disarm them through compulsion", he stated.

There was ample evidence of an "overabundance of heavy, medium and light weapons" in southern Mogadishu. UNOSOM had to maintain a forceful disarmament programme there "as long as resistance continues".

Elsewhere in Somalia, the Secretary-General reported progress in disarmament: a cooperative process was being followed in the north-east and gradually in the central regions; and voluntary disarmament had been agreed upon in the north-west and was being negotiated in the Lower Juba in the south.

Over a period of eight months, up to the end of July, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and UNOSOM had removed and destroyed hundreds of tons of weapons and ammunition, he reported.

Police, courts, district councils

UNOSOM continued to support the Somali police force in its current area of operations and had assisted in the north-east and north-west as well, the Secretary-General said. He called for expansion of the 5,000-person police force and stated that by 31 October an interim three-tier judicial system would be in place and the 1962 Criminal Procedure and Penal Codes would be enforced.

UNOSOM would also establish an Office of Human Rights, to investigate and facilitate prosecution of serious violations of international humanitarian law and to help establish a local Somali human rights committee.

A team of international specialists was to investigate, in cooperation with the Somali police, human rights violations committed against the Somali people, as well as against international assistance workers.

On 27 September, the Justice Division of UNOSOM II certified the reopening of Somali courts at Mogadishu's Central Prison building. Pending reconstruction of court buildings in Somalia, cases were to be heard in the Central Prison. There were 480 cases awaiting hearings.

A new Judiciary Re-establishment Council, comprised entirely of Somalis, would select judges and monitor re-establishment of the courts. A Court of Appeals, a Regional Court in Mogadishu and four district courts had also been established.

The Secretary-General said that efforts to promote political reconciliation in Somalia continued to be based on implementing the Addis Ababa Agreement, which called,

UNOSOM objectives affirmed

among other things, for establishment of district and regional councils, and a 74-member Transitional National Council to act as the prime political authority in Somalia during a two-year transitional period ending on 27 March 1995. By the end of July, district councils were working in 21 of 92 districts in Somalia.

Regional peace conferences were held in the southern, central and north-west parts of Somalia. A peace conference in the southern port city of Kismayo, a heavily conflict-ridden area, resulted in the signing of the Jubaland peace agreement on 6 August. The signatories committed themselves to end all hostilities among the more than 20 clans that inhabit that Somali region.

Five goals

Despite UNOSOM's many achievements, much remained to be done to breathe life back into Somalia's economy.

The Secretary-General cited *(S/26317)* five areas requiring urgent action to set the stage for longer-term development on a sustainable basis:

- emergency relief operations, to placate "pockets of immense suffering and deprivation";
- resettlement of an estimated 1.3 million Somalis—about one-fifth of the total population of 6 million;
- reinvigoration of the productive sector, in particular agriculture, livestock and fisheries;
- resuscitation of commerce and trade; and
- revitalization of social services, such as health centres and schools, which had been shut down for a number of years.

On 21 July, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Eliasson voiced his concern about the "disappointingly low" amount of funding available for Somalia relief efforts.

At a meeting of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, he said that less than 15 per cent of the $166 million needed for the 1993 Relief and Rehabilitation Programme had been received, while some $1.5 billion would be spent on military operations over the year.

The "vicious attacks" on UNOSOM II peace-keepers could not be disregarded, but if humanitarian aid were not sufficiently funded, the military operation might be perceived as an end in itself, rather than as a means of ensuring security for rehabilitation.

Several UN bodies reported on programmes to aid UNOSOM's humanitarian and reconstruction efforts.

The UN Development Programme (UNDP) assisted in irrigation projects, school rehabilitation and training former militia in employable skills. UNDP also operated the Mogadishu water supply system.

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) conducted a drive to bring measles vaccine to hundreds of thousands of Somali children. Some 650,000 children were vaccinated between September 1992 and July 1993. UNICEF operated 20 hospitals and more than 200 health centres and health posts in the country, either directly or through non-governmental organizations.

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on 10 August opened an educational development centre in Mogadishu, which had produced a complete set of textbooks for primary school students in Somalia. It was the first of seven such centres UNESCO planned to open before the end of 1994.

A major achievement of UN efforts in Somalia was the halt to the flow of refugees into neighbouring countries. It was reported by UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata.

Other developments

A Working Group, established by UNOSOM II and the World Bank to deal with a framework for the 1994-1996 rehabilitation programme for Somalia, completed its first week of work in Washington, D.C., it was announced on 17 September.

On 7 September, the Chargé d'Affaires of Somalia's Permanent Mission to the UN conveyed her views *(S/26412)*. UNOSOM had been "successful thus far", she said, as inter-clan warfare had almost stopped, deaths due to starvation had come down to almost none, and the "violence in the triangle between Kismayo, Bardera and Mogadishu that was largely responsible for the starvation and wanton death is now limited to a pocket in the south of Mogadishu". She condemned "acts of brutality" that had led to the death and injury of UN peace-keepers.

At a meeting of Intergovernmental Authority on Drought Development, the Heads of State of the countries of the Horn of Africa, while applauding the "positive achievements" of the UN in Somalia, stressed that "caution is required in handling the current very complicated political situation". Eritrea reported *(S/26481)* on 17 September. Humanitarian interventions had been marred by escalating military conflict, it said. ■

UN integrated office in Eritrea created

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali signed an agreement with Eritrean President Issaias Afwerki on 30 September to establish a UN Integrated Office in Asmara. The Office will facilitate inter-agency coordination for the country's post-conflict nation-building process. This also reflected the Secretary-General's continuing efforts to pursue a unified UN presence to meet urgent requirements of newly-independent countries and States in transition. Eritrea became independent on 24 May 1993 after a referendum monitored by the UN.

A Pledging Conference for Eritrea was held in Geneva on 6 July, seeking $111 million for the rehabilitation of resettlement areas for some half a million refugees who were in Sudan.

UN Photo 186203/M. Grafman

The tragedy continues, despite international efforts to avert humanitarian catastrophes. UN convoys, subjected to sniper fire and ambush, have been suspended.

Brutal conflict: 'An affront to the world's conscience'

Tragedy in the former Yugoslavia continued to "drain the attention, resources, and emotion of the international community", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 10 September.

The "most visible and successful contribution" of the world community in that region was in the humanitarian sphere, the Secretary-General stated. Unfortunately, conditions for assistance efforts had "steadily deteriorated". Relief operations were "obstructed, sabotaged or diverted for military purposes". The personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other organizations were "increasingly targeted deliberately", he lamented.

Peace remained elusive, fighting was widespread, and new outbursts had taken place in central and southern Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary-General stated *(A/48/1)*.

Strenuous efforts by the UN, the European Community and the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia—undertaken during July, August and September 1993—failed to bring about a political settlement.

Hopes for an overall agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina did not materialize, as the Bosnian Assembly on 29 September rejected a new peace package, although the choice, according to the Co-Chairmen *(S/26395)*, was "between a negotiated peace and the continuation of war".

The ongoing brutal conflict was accompanied by massive and systematic violations of human rights, the Secretary-General observed. The "daily horrors" inflicted on suffering civilians constituted an "affront to the world's conscience".

From 1 July through 30 September, some 257 violations of the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, imposed under Security Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—132 more than in April, May and June. That brought to 881 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under Council resolution 781 (1992).

In Croatia, the situation remained tense, the Secretary-General reported. Demilitarization of the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) had not taken place due to local Serb resistance. Croatia's frustration with the lack of progress in recovering its sovereign territory had led to incursions against Serbs, setting back the peace process even further.

Peace prospects for Bosnia and Herzegovina and a possible role for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in support of UNPROFOR were discussed on 1 September in Geneva by Mr. Boutros-Ghali and Manfred Woerner, NATO's Secretary-General.

The creation of a permanent NATO-UNPROFOR joint staff to implement a peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina was considered by UNPROFOR Commander General Jean Cot and Admiral Mike Boorda, NATO Allied Forces South Commander, in Zagreb on 28 September.

Also, the General Assembly on 15 and 17 September selected 11 judges to serve on the International Tribunal established under Council resolution 827 (1993) to prosecute persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the

Steady deterioration

former Yugoslavia since 1 January 1991. The Council, in its resolution 857 (1993), had provided a list of candidates.

Between 1 July and 4 October, the Security Council met, either formally or for consultations, on 11 occasions to discuss the former Yugoslavia, adopting 6 resolutions and issuing 5 statements.

In adopting resolution 871 (1993) on 4 October, the Council extended the mandate of UNPROFOR for another six months, until 31 March 1994.

Faces of sorrow

Of more than 24,000 UNPROFOR soldiers and 3,000 civilians, 54 had been killed and 585 wounded, the Secretary-General said on 21 September, at the opening at UN Headquarters of a photo exhibition with the theme "Faces of Sorrow".

The UN provided the "only tangible sign of hope", he stressed, assisting 3.6 million refugees and displaced persons, feeding 2.3 million people, supplying desperately-needed help for thousands of sick and wounded, and delivering more than 145,000 tons of food and medicine. And the cost to the UN had already exceeded $2.5 billion, he added.

But international support for humanitarian operations was dwindling and the sums actually received fell "far short of requirements", the Secretary-General stated in his annual report. The UN role in the former Yugoslavia was "under serious challenge", he said.

If the present "downward spiral" continued, the Security Council might not be able to achieve its political objectives, he warned. The ultimate consequences would be "further large population displacements", with serious destabilizing effects on neighbouring countries and the whole region, amounting to a "humanitarian catastrophe".

Resolution 859: Settlement in Bosnia urged

The grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained a "threat to international peace and security", the Security Council stated on 24 August.

In unanimously adopting resolution 859 (1993), it urged the parties to conclude "as soon as possible a just and comprehensive political settlement freely agreed by all of them". Essential in that regard was an "immediate cease-fire and cessation of hostilities throughout the Republic".

The Council also demanded an "unhindered flow of humanitarian assistance" and full respect "by all parties at all times" for the safety and operational effectiveness of UNPROFOR and UNHCR personnel.

UN Photo 186209/M. Grafman

Displaced Croatians examining paperwork to obtain temporary shelter.

The Council affirmed the continuing relevance of: Bosnia's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence; the fact that neither a change in the State's name nor changes in its internal organization would affect Bosnia's continued membership in the UN; principles adopted by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (26-27 August 1992, London); recognition and respect for the right of all displaced persons to "return to their homes in safety and honour"; and the maintenance of Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, as a "united city and a multicultural, multi-ethnic and pluri-religious centre".

A military offensive by the Bosnian Serbs on Mount Igman, aimed at further isolating Sarajevo and "escalating the recent unprecedented and unacceptable pressures" on Bosnia's Government and people before the Geneva talks, was condemned by the Security Council on 22 July.

In a statement *(S/26134)* by its President, Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom, the Council demanded an "immediate end" to all attacks on Sarajevo, as well as all violations of international humanitarian law. It reaffirmed the unacceptability of ethnic cleansing, the forceful acquisition of territory or any dissolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

An end to the disruption of public utilities by the Bosnian Serbs and to the "blocking of, and interference with, the delivery of humanitarian relief" by the Bosnian Serb and the Bosnian Croat parties was also demanded. The Council stressed that it would keep all options open.

Seeking solution

A constitutional agreement for a Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina—providing that the territory of the Muslim-majority Republic would be no less than 30 per cent of the Union's entire territory, and that each constituent republic would determine its own name—was reached by the three Bosnian sides on 30 July in Geneva.

According to the Co-Chairmen's 5 August report *(S/26260)*, the parties also agreed on: an authority to "ensure access in sensitive areas of the country after UNPROFOR withdraws", as foreseen under the Vance-Owen peace plan; access to the sea for the Muslim-majority Republic; military aspects of implementing a peaceful settlement; and territorial arrangements.

Deliberations to settle the remaining issues continued throughout August. As a result, arrangements to place Sarajevo and Mostar under the administration of the UN and the European Community respectively for two years were worked out, the Co-Chairmen reported *(S/26337)* on 20 August.

Detailed agreements had also been reached on some other territorial issues, and all of the annexes to the constitutional agreement, as well as a preliminary bilateral treaty between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia on access to two Adriatic ports, had been finalized, they stated.

When talks in Geneva resumed on 31 August, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic informed the Co-Chairmen that he was authorized to sign the peace agreement, provided the Muslim-majority Republic was given an additional 4 per cent of Bosnia's territory. Both Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban—leaders of Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats respectively—stated that they could sign the accord only as it was.

Peace or war?

A peace package—"distilled from the three parties' own ideas"—was presented on 1 September to the Geneva peace talks by the Co-Chairmen. The choice was "between a negotiated peace and the continuation of war", they reported. "If the conflict persists over the next winter, it might be difficult, if not impossible, to assure continued humanitarian relief and assistance" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they said.

The Croat and Serb delegations were ready to sign the package, but President Izetbegovic "still wanted further consideration" of some territorial issues, including the question of access to the Adriatic sea, the Co-Chairmen reported *(S/26486)* on 23 September.

However, there had been some "promising political developments", they said. On 14 September, Presidents Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia met in Geneva and agreed to set up a working group on territorial delimitation between the Muslim-majority Republic and the Croat-majority Republic in the Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They also agreed on a cease-fire, but that was subsequently violated.

President Izetbegovic and Dr. Karadzic's representative, Momcilo Krajisnik, also agreed to form a similar working group and cease hostilities. Fighting between Serbs and Muslims remained at a "relatively low level", the Co-Chairmen stated.

explained the procedure for first use of air power in support of UNPROFOR.

Package rejected

A meeting of the three parties—President Izetbegovic, Mr. Karadzic and Mr. Boban—was organized by the Co-Chairmen aboard *HMS Invincible* in the Adriatic sea on 20 September. It was also attended by Presidents Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, as well as Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaly Churkin of the Russian Federation and Ambassador Charles Redman of the United States, as observers.

Agreements reached at the meeting included the following:

- Muslim and Croat parties agreed on establishing an exit to the sea for the Muslim-majority Republic through the Croat-majority Republic via the Access Authority Throughway from Poplat to Neum, and agreed that a port facility should be between Visici and Celjevo on the Neretva;
- Croatia agreed to a 99-year lease for a separate port facility at Ploce for the Muslim-majority Republic;
- All parties agreed that, as soon as relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were normalized, there should be a treaty "covering an exchange of territory involving also the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina", so that

UN Photo 183500/M. Tzovaras

Lieutenant-General Philippe Morillon, former UNPROFOR Commander in Bosnia and Herzegovina *(left)* at a 20 July debriefing with Kofi Annan, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

A team of experts from France and Germany, studying the possibilities of building a commercial port for the Muslim side on the Adriatic sea, recommended the use of a port in Ploce with connections to Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Neretva river.

In addition, an early resumption of talks was urged by the Secretary-General at his 9 September meeting in New York with President Izetbegovic. The Secretary-General also

there would be "no net loss of territory to the Republic of Croatia", the Co-Chairmen stated.

Earlier, the Serb and the Croat sides had made it clear that if the 1 September peace package, which they considered final, was not signed by the Muslim party, they would "withdraw their concessions".

Also on 20 September, the Co-Chairmen managed to mediate further territorial agreements, namely, that the southern border of the Muslim-majority Republic would "be moved down from Recice to just above Visici", and that an "additional area of land" along the Drina river between Gorazde and Visegrad would be given to the Muslim side by the Serb party.

The new peace package—although not yet signed, as President Izetbegovic had to present it first to his Assembly—indicated a "striking and important" dedication to achieving results, Co-Chairman Thorvald Stoltenberg, also the Secretary-General's Special Representative, stated on 21 September.

Nevertheless, the proposed agreement was rejected by the Bosnian Parliament on 29 September.

Resolutions 869, 870, 871: UNPROFOR extended

An extention of UNPROFOR's mandate for six months—until 31 March 1994—was approved by the Security Council on 4 October. In unanimously adopting resolution 871 (1993), the Council also authorized UNPROFOR, in carrying out its mandate in Croatia and acting in self-defence, to "take the necessary measures, including the use of force", to ensure its security and freedom of movement.

Stressing the crucial importance of full and prompt implementation of the UN peace-keeping plan for Croatia, including the demilitarization of the UNPAs, as approved in resolution 743 (1992), the Council called on all concerned, particularly the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), to cooperate in its full implementation. Continued non-cooperation, it warned, would have "serious consequences", adding that "full normalization of the international community's position towards those concerned" would take into account their actions in implementing all relevant Council resolutions.

The Council stressed the importance of the restoration of Croatia's authority in the "pink zones"—Serb-populated parts of Croatia lying outside the UNPAs—and called for the revival of the Joint Commission established under resolution 762 (1992).

Earlier, the Council acted twice to extend UNPROFOR's mandate: for a 24-hour period, in resolution 869 (1993) of 30 September; and for another four days, in resolution 870 (1993) on 1 October.

On 28 September, Croatian President Tudjman told the General Assembly that if UNPROFOR's mandate was not amended "within the next 48 hours" to promote energetic implementation of relevant Council resolutions, Croatia would "renounce" the UN peace-keeping operation on its territory and ask it to leave by 30 November 1993.

While the Force had achieved some initial positive results, President Tudjman stated, it had been "misused by Serbian extremist insurgents" to freeze territorial gains, continue "ethnic cleansing" and consolidate occupation. Besides, "lack of determination" by the international community had allowed the Serbian side to ignore all Council resolutions, he stressed.

Situation in Croatia

Deep concern was expressed by the Security Council on 15 July over hostilities in the UNPAs, "including, in particular, by the Krajina Serbs".

UN Photo 186182/M. Grafman

Amid the rubble: a 60-year-old Croatian woman tends a meagre vegetable garden outside her bombed home.

In a statement *(S/26084)* by its President, Thomas L. Richardson of the United Kingdom, the Council demanded that those hostilities "cease immediately" and called on all concerned to refrain from any action which would undermine efforts to maintain peace.

Freedom of access to UNPROFOR, particularly to the Maslenica crossing, was also urged.

The Croatian Government was called upon to refrain from the "planned unilateral reopening" of the Maslenica bridge and Zemunik airport on 18 July, as that step would jeopardize efforts to achieve a "negotiated settlement" to the problem.

Recalling its resolution 802 (1993), which had demanded that Croatian armed forces withdraw from the areas in question, the Council stated that it continued to attach the "highest importance" to reopening the Maslenica

crossing to civilian traffic. It also reaffirmed its support for Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

An agreement requiring withdrawal of Croatian armed forces and police from the area and placing the Maslenica bridge under UNPROFOR's exclusive control was reached by the parties on 15 and 16 July at Erdut.

However, the Security Council on 30 July had demanded the accord's implementation. In a statement *(S/26199)* by its President, the Council called for "maximum restraint" from all parties to permit the "immediate deployment" of UNPROFOR.

To that end, the Force had moved 2,000 troops into the area, but had been "unable to deploy" them because the Croatian military authorities "would not allow UNPROFOR full access . . . nor provide any cooperation", the Secretary-General reported *(S/26310)* on 16 August.

Meanwhile, talks under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen continued in Geneva, Zagreb and Knin. Although failing to achieve an overall cease-fire agreement, both sides had agreed to a meeting "on board a ship in the Adriatic on 12 September", the Secretary-General reported *(S/26470)* on 20 September.

The situation, however, grew worse on 10 and 11 September, as "shelling intensified on both sides of the confrontation line". According to the report, the Croatian side "used aircraft to bomb Serb positions, and the Serbs fired rockets and heavy missiles at Croatian population centres".

A cease-fire came on 15 September, following the intervention of Special Representative Stoltenberg and the UNPROFOR Commander, General Jean Cot, as well as a call from the Council.

In a 14 September statement *(S/26436)* by its President, Adolfo Raul Taylhardat of Venezuela, the Council had urged the Croatian Government to withdraw its forces "to positions occupied before 9 September", and the Serbian forces to "halt all provocative military actions".

Croatian withdrawal, however, had begun "after some delay", the Secretary-General said. UNPROFOR had moved some 500 to 600 troops into the area to "replace the withdrawing Croatian forces".

Mandate and credibility

UNPROFOR's mandate "cannot be implemented without the cooperation" of the Serb authorities in Knin and the Croatian Government, the Secretary-General concluded on 20 September. The Force's credibility had been undermined, as each side blamed the Force for "failing to fulfil its expectations".

In addition, the "continuing uncertainty" over a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina also significantly affected the solution of the problem, he said. Thus, fighting continued with "more death and destruction", attitudes becoming "more polarized", peoples and economies facing "increasing deprivation", and UNPROFOR personnel "often exposed to physical danger".

In view of that danger and the criticism of UNPROFOR by both sides, the Secretary-General had been "sorely tempted" to recommend the withdrawal of the Force altogether. But such a step, he was convinced, "could only result in further conflict".

The "fundamental solution", however, had to be sought "through political dialogue" between the parties, as they bore the primary responsibility in that regard, the report stated. UNPROFOR's principal objective could only be to keep the peace, "thereby permitting negotiations to take place on an overall political settlement".

Other components

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the 11,500-strong Force is mandated primarily to protect Sarajevo airport, humanitarian convoys and the "safe areas"—Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac—pronounced as such in Security Council resolutions 819 (1993) and 824 (1993).

In recent months, hostilities between Croats and government forces in central and southern Bosnia had "seriously undermined" the capability of UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies, the Secretary-General reported on 20 September. Intense fighting had blocked the main supply routes and further restricted freedom of movement.

In addition, UNPROFOR's French troops were subjected to a heavy attack by Bosnian Serbs on 25 July. Condemning such "heinous action", the Secretary-General stated that it was an "attack on the entire people of Bosnia and Herzegovina who depend on the uninterrupted delivery of humanitarian assistance".

To ensure the survival of up to 2.2 million people during the coming winter, UNPROFOR and UNHCR launched "Operation Lifeline", but that initiative

UN Photo 186211/M. Grafman

UNPROFOR is working with the UNHCR to provide displaced persons with shelter, food and security.

Steady deterioration

UN Photo 183586/I Isaac

World attention continued to be focused on the complex crisis in the former Yugoslavia. *Above*, Co-Chairman Thorvald Stoltenberg meets the press at UN Headquarters.

would only work effectively if there was a political agreement leading to peace and if adequate funding was forthcoming, the Secretary-General stressed.

In The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Force enjoyed an "excellent cooperative relationship" with the Government, the Secretary-General stated. UNPROFOR's 1,190 military, civilian and police personnel mounted regular patrols and, in cooperation with the country's authorities and CSCE's sanctions assistance mission, monitored traffic crossing the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"This first venture into the field of 'preventive deployment' by the United Nations has so far been successful", the Secretary-General stated.

Resolution 855: Support for CSCE efforts

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was called upon by the Security Council on 9 August to cooperate with the CSCE by taking "practical steps needed for the resumption" of its missions in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina, and to agree to increase the number of monitors, as decided by the CSCE.

In adopting resolution 855 (1993) by a vote of 14 to none, with one abstention (China), the Council also urged Yugoslavia to "assure the monitors' safety and security", and to allow them the "free and unimpeded access necessary to accomplish their mission in full".

Explaining its vote, China said the matter of CSCE presence in Yugoslavia should be solved between them, as "any outside interference or pressure" would "only further complicate the issue". Preventive diplomacy "should be carried out at the explicit request or with prior consent" of the parties concerned, it noted.

Hungary expressed particular concern about the situation of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, which was being "continuously threatened" and lived under conditions of "intimidation and harassment". Although the world community had "well-founded reasons" to concentrate its attention on Kosovo, the situation was also "very fragile" in Vojvodina and Sandjak, where the human rights and fundamental freedoms of ethnic communities were "far from being fully respected", it stated.

Resolution 857: Judges for Tribunal

A list of 23 candidates eligible for election as judges on the International Tribunal, set up under Council resolution 827 (1993) of 25 May to prosecute persons responsible for serious violations of humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1 January 1991, was put forward by the Council on 20 August, in its resolution 857 (1993).

The General Assembly on 15 September elected 8 of 11 judges for the Tribunal and, on 17 September, it filled the remaining three vacancies.

The nine men and two women, elected for four-year terms, are: Gabrielle Kirk McDonald (United States), Jules Deschenes (Canada), Antonio Cassese (Italy), Georges Michel Abi-Saab (Egypt), Li Haopei (China), Germain Le Foyer De Costil (France), Lal Chan Vohrah (Malaysia), Sir Ninian Stephen (Australia), Adolphus Godwin Karibi-Whyte (Nigeria), Rustam S. Sidhwa (Pakistan), and Elizabeth Odio Benito (Costa Rica).

ICJ rules on genocide

An interim Order of provisional measures, calling upon the Yugoslav Government to take immediately all measures within its power to prevent commission of the crime of genocide, was issued by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on 13 September.

Reaffirming its ruling of 8 April, when Bosnia and Herzegovina first appealed to ICJ under the provisions of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the World Court held that the "present perilous situation" demanded not an indication of

additional measures, but an "immediate and effective implementation" of measures set up earlier.

The Court recorded that, despite its 8 April Order and many Security Council resolutions, "great suffering and loss of life has been sustained by the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in circumstances which shock the conscience of mankind and flagrantly conflict with moral law".

It was also stated that the "grave risk" of aggravating or extending the commission of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been "deepened by the persistence of conflicts" and the "commission of heinous acts in the course of those conflicts".

The 15-member Court was "not satisfied that all that might have been done has been done" to prevent genocide. It reminded the parties that they were obliged to take the Court's provisional measures "seriously into account".

The Court declined to adopt more far-reaching injunctions requested by Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as measures to interdict plans to partition Bosnian territory, or declare illegal the annexation of its territory, as it could order interim measures only within the scope of the Genocide Convention and was not entitled to deal with broader claims.

The Court also declined to order an injunction sought by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia requiring Bosnia and Herzegovina to take all measures within its power to prevent commission of the crime of genocide against the Serbs in Bosnia.

War crimes

From July through September, two sessions were held by the Commission of Experts set up under Security Council resolution 780 (1992) to examine and analyse information on possible breaches of international humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

At its sixth session (13-14 July, Geneva), the five-member Commission considered an oral report by the Rapporteur for on-site investigations, William J. Fenrick of Canada, who had visited Sarajevo from 24 June to 9 July. It decided, among other things, to continue investigations into mass graves, systematic sexual assaults, prison camps, and destruction of cultural property and civilian objects.

Testimony from alleged war criminals detained by the Croatian authorities was presented to the Commission's seventh session (30-31 August, Geneva) by its Acting Chairman, Torkel Opsahl of Norway, who had returned from a mission to Zagreb. The Commission decided to work out guidelines for future interviews of witnesses and the hearing of testimonies of alleged war criminals.

Among subjects discussed were: a database of alleged rights violations; mass graves, camps and detention facilities; allegations of systematic rape; mortar shelling in the Dobrinja district of Sarajevo; a report on the battle of Sarajevo; and the law of armed conflict.

A sombre Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali at the "Faces of Sorrow" photo exhibit at UN Headquarters on 21 September.

UN Photo 183336/M. Grant

Co-Chairman Stoltenberg: A choice between peace and war.

Mr. Opsahl died on 16 September. His untimely death, the Secretary-General stated, was a "great loss to the United Nations, to the Commission of Experts and the international legal community".

In other developments, a 50-person engineering unit was provided "free of cost to the United Nations" by the Netherlands to assist in the excavation of a mass grave site at Ovcara near Vukovar, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26373)* on 20 August. He suggested that the unit temporarily function within UNPROFOR, which would involve the Force's "temporary expansion" at no additional cost.

Detention camps

Profound concern over reports that Bosnian Croats were holding Bosnian Muslims in detention camps under deplorable conditions was expressed by the Security Council on 14 September.

In a statement *(S/26437)* by Council President Adolfo Raul Taylhardat of Venezuela, it stressed that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) "must be given access to all detainees in Bosnia wherever they may be held". It also called on the Bosnian Croats to supply immediately to

the ICRC "complete information" on all camps where prisoners were being held.

Inhumane treatment and abuses in detention centres violated international humanitarian law, the Council stated. Moreover, persons who committed or ordered the commission of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions were "individually responsible in respect of such breaches".

The Council also called upon Croatia to "use its influence with the Bosnian Croats to secure compliance" with the current statement.

Alarm over reports of detentions, harassment and widespread forced displacement of thousands of Muslims in western Bosnia and Herzegovina by Bosnian Croat forces had been expressed by the UNHCR on 20 August.

"Credible reports" from people fleeing the region pointed to a "new campaign" of ethnic cleansing, which was "as brutal as any so far witnessed in the Bosnian conflict", the agency stated. Up to 15,000 mostly draft-age Muslim men were believed to be held in "extremely poor conditions" in detention centres guarded by Bosnian Croat forces in Rodoc, Gabela and Dreteli.

Detainees were "extremely crowded" and food rations consisted of a "piece of bread, a bowl of soup and a cup of tea per person per day", the UNHCR reported. They had also been "forced to dig trenches at night on the front lines, resulting in several deaths".

Despite numerous efforts, the UNHCR had been prevented from delivering aid to Mostar since 15 June.

"For more than a year now, the UNHCR and its partners have struggled against all odds to help the people of Sarajevo to stay alive", High Commissioner Sadako Ogata stated on 9 July. "Under the most appalling conditions, the brave people of Sarajevo have survived a massive military onslaught that has left thousands dead and the city in ruins. Now, after months of horror and hardship, they face the very real threat of death not only by bombs and bullets, but by thirst, disease and starvation".

She condemned the actions of those who were "blocking the delivery of food, medicine, fuel, water, power, gas and other humanitarian assistance in a cowardly attempt to starve and kill innocent civilians".

Massive violations

The eruption of hostilities between Croat and government forces in central Bosnia and Herzegovina involved "massive and systematic violations" of human rights and international humanitarian law, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, reported *(S/26469)* on 18 May.

Forced displacement and detention of civilians, arbitrary executions, attacks on towns and destruction of villages and religious sites had become "part of a deliberate and systematic policy of ethnic cleansing" conducted by the Croat forces, Mr. Mazowiecki said.

On the other hand, arbitrary executions and torture had been carried out by government forces, and there was a real "danger of retaliation for ethnic cleansing committed by Croat forces against Croat civilians".

The peace plan, which provided Bosnia and Herzegovina's division along ethnic lines, had been used to create "ethnically homogenous areas", he reported. Moreover, the lack of an effective international response to counter the Serb policy of ethnic cleansing had created the "precedent of impunity" and "encouraged Croat forces to adopt the same policy".

Without stopping the war and without "sufficient pressure to force an end to human rights violations", any attempts to find a just and lasting political solution would be "doomed to fail", Mr. Mazowiecki observed.

Visible toll

Conditions in Sarajevo had "deteriorated dramatically" since his October 1992 mission, Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki reported *(S/26383)* on 26 August, after visiting the city on 11 and 12 August.

The 16-month siege had taken a "visible physical and psychological toll" on the population, and the "whole fabric of ordinary life" had been destroyed. In addition, tensions between the Muslims, Serbs and Croats were mounting.

Also of great concern was the fact that the basic human needs of civilians were being "used as a weapon of war", and the rule of law was in the process of collapsing". Hostilities were

UN Photo 183564/M. Grant

The Council on 9 August called on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to assure the safety of CSCE monitors. Shown *above:* Council President Madeleine Albright of the United States *(right)* and the Secretary-General.

conducted in a manner which not only violated the "most basic human rights of the inhabitants", but was also in "fundamental breach of the laws of war", Mr. Mazowiecki stressed.

Those breaches included: starvation of a besieged population as a method of warfare; use of civilians as military targets and their "deliberate killing and wounding"; denial and destruction of electricity, water and gas supplies, foodstuffs and medical supplies "essential to the survival of the civilian population"; repeated shelling of hospitals; and detention of civilians as hostages.

Tragically, that pattern had been reported in other besieged areas of Bosnia, "most graphically in recent days from Mostar", Mr. Mazowiecki stated. The level of suffering inflicted on civilians was a "cause of profound concern".

Such practices deserved the "strongest possible condemnation", he stressed in an 6 September report *(S/26415)*. In times of war, civilian populations "should remain under the protection of international law".

Besides, "sniping at civilians" to kill or wound those taking no part in hostilities constituted a war crime, Mr. Mazowiecki stated. Therefore, snipers should be "among those tried and sentenced for grave breaches of humanitarian law".

Severe food shortages

More than 4.2 million people in the former Yugoslavia would experience severe food shortages in the coming winter, unless pledges of food aid were urgently made, the World Food Programme (WFP) warned on 27 September.

Although about 86 per cent of food aid requirements for September-December 1993 had been met, very little had been pledged beyond January 1994, which could result in "critical food shortages at the height of winter", WFP stated.

For January-June 1994, emergency food requirements were estimated at over 450,000 metric tonnes, of which only 17 per cent had been pledged, leaving a shortfall of some 371,000 tonnes.

"Present supplies are insufficient to allow stockpiling, and unless new pledges are confirmed and deliveries made before January, millions of people will be without basic food supplies during the bitter winter months", said WFP Executive Director Catherine Bertini.

WFP had been responsible for procuring and delivering all international food aid for the former Yugoslavia since September 1992. By the end of September 1993, the Programme had mobilized over 320,000 tonnes of commodities, valued at some $225 million. The food is delivered by WFP to the UNHCR central warehouses for onward distribution.

Medical and other essential supplies, including fuel, were also running short, posing serious health risks to populations of besieged towns.

In an urgent message to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO), on 8 July warned of a possible "massive loss of life" in Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities unless essential supplies were allowed to reach them.

Suffering the unspeakable

"Having suffered the unspeakable for more than one year, the people of Sarajevo, especially the wounded and the sick, are now facing the imminent collapse of what is left of the health infrastructure", Dr. Nakajima stated.

"The heroism of medical personnel and of international aid workers cannot provide an answer to the crisis at hand. In the absense of respect for what constitute minimum standards of civilized behaviour, a catastrophe will take place, the likes of which Europe and the world have not seen since the dark days of the Second World War."

UN Photo 186124 M. Grabman

On the border between Serbia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

In contrast, a joint reconstruction programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina, operated by the UN Office at Vienna and the UN Development Programme (UNDP), had achieved "great success" during the summer, the organizers stated on 20 August.

Funded through donations exceeding $2 million in cash and in-kind services, the programme involved 45 volunteers from Belgium, Canada, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, working on schools, clinics and housing for the elderly on all sides of the confrontation in the UNPA Sector West.

Among the programme's recent priorities were: a campaign to raise $1 million to re-establish basic pediatrics, gynecology, internal medicine and surgery services at the local hospital; and an assistance project for Bosnian women.

Steady deterioration

Border observers

Deployment of international observers along Bosnia and Herzegovina's borders, especially on its border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, would facilitate the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, Council President Sir David Hannay wrote *(S/26049)* to the Secretary-General on 7 July.

Council members invited the Secretary-General to establish whether Member States were ready to "make qualified personnel available to act as observers", and to explore all possibilities for implementation of the "border monitors concept", with a view to obtaining "full cooperation from the authorities in the neighbouring countries".

On 1 July, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/26018)* that there were two alternative options for the observers' deployment: border monitoring and border control.

In view of the fact that worldwide resources for additional peacekeeping troops were "increasingly stretched", it would be "unrealistic" for the Council to authorize the border control option, he stated.

Even for border monitoring, substantial additional resources would be required, and even if the necessary personnel and finance were available, that option's effectiveness would "depend entirely" on the cooperation of neighbouring countries and the parties concerned, the Secretary-General stressed.

New rules

New rules for the delivery of medical, food or other essential humanitarian supplies to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were announced on 29 July by Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg of Brazil, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established under resolution 724 (1991).

According to the rules, all parties wishing to transport supplies through Yugoslav maritime ports would be required, among other things, to provide the Committee with: a justification for exceptional authorization for entering the territorial sea of Yugoslavia; the name, type, international call sign and registry of the ship involved, as well as the name of the company of its ownership or charter; the particulars on all cargo on the vessel; and the proposed inspection and monitoring regimes, to be undertaken at the expense of the shipper.

In a related development, the Committee on 8 July and 10 August made its recommendations *(S/26040 & Add.1)* to the Security Council on how to assist States adversely affected by sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Request for help had so far been submitted by six countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Uganda and the Ukraine.

While peace remains elusive in the former Yugoslavia, the human spirit remains strong.

Greece/Macedonia

The first direct meeting between representatives of Greece and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia took place on 23 August in New York under the good offices of Cyrus Vance, former Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee.

Both parties had agreed to "commence direct discussions on a continuing basis" in Mr. Vance's presence in New York on 28 September, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26483)* on 22 September. They had welcomed that "new phase" in the effort to resolve remaining differences, which would hopefully lead to a "new era" in their relations.

The 28 September meeting was held in a "cordial and businesslike atmosphere", Mr. Vance said after the talks. In view of the 10 October Greek elections, both parties agreed that further direct talks on the substance of the remaining issues should be deferred.

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that it had "not proved possible" to resolve the differences between the two countries before the opening of the forty-eighth General Assembly, as called for in Council resolution 845 (1993).

Nevertheless, their direct discussions in Mr. Vance's presence demonstrated the "desire on both sides to come to a resolution". Normalization of relations between them would "contribute to peace and stability in the region", he stressed. ■

Towards a new clarity for UN work

by Nancy Seufert-Barr

Calling for a restructured UN to lead the way towards a new definition of economic and social progress, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned the Economic and Social Council on 30 June that "unless we move forward to create an economically and socially more balanced world, peace and security will be endangered".

Amidst a complex reform process that has touched virtually every major organ, responsibility and aspect of the post-cold-war United Nations, a restructuring of intergovernmental machinery in the economic and social fields was "both necessary and overdue", Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the high-level segment of the Council's five-week substantive session (29 June-30 July, Geneva).

"From the outset of my mandate I have been convinced that the structure of the Organization must mirror, as closely as possible, the tasks it is assigned to undertake", he said. "An institution must reflect the objectives it pursues, and I hope to be able to make this happen with increasing accuracy."

The UN therefore faces "the difficult task of relating our aims to our means, of updating and reforming institutions set up at different times and with different imperatives", he said.

Indeed, with the Organization struggling to deal with the deadly mixture of starvation and civil war in Somalia, the humanitarian nightmare of ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia, a vast election and infrastructure rebuilding exercise in Cambodia, and the tensions of fledgling democracy and economies in transition in former Soviet republics, a main goal of UN reform has been to realize an organization which views its economic, social and development aims "with the same sense of urgency as its political and security commitments", the Secretary-General's Special Adviser, Kenneth Dadzie, told the Fifth Committee on 30 March.

Far-reaching administrative reform has been implemented by the Secretary-General to eliminate duplication and refocus the work of all parts of the UN on its original, basic mandate.

In June 1992, the Secretary-General issued a wide-ranging strategy for the future work of the Organization, entitled "An Agenda for Peace", in which he set out proposals for strengthening UN effectiveness in discharging its responsibilities. The proposals, which concentrate on UN activities in the areas of peace-keeping, preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building, form what Mr. Boutros-Ghali has described as "a consistent and integrated set of measures to address human security in all its aspects". *(For a detailed account of "An Agenda for Peace" and its follow-up, refer to* UN Chronicle, *No. 3, September 1992, and "The 38th Floor" sections in subsequent issues.)*

In his "Agenda", Mr. Boutros-Ghali proposed that "the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) report to the Security Council on economic and social developments which might pose threats to international peace and security. He also urged that a flexible high-level, intersessional mechanism be introduced to enable ECOSOC to react in a timely way to new developments.

The Secretary-General's restructuring efforts also aimed to promote coordination and decentralization within the UN system, foster greater cooperation with non-governmental organizations and regional bodies, and create more effective UN financing and budget-making mechanisms.

Dramatic demands

Just as the UN is working to adapt its structures in the economic and social sectors to the new challenges before the global community, the operational, field-oriented arm of those sectors is adapting as well.

In particular, reform of the governance and financing of UN operational activities for development is currently at the forefront of UN efforts.

As the Secretary-General stated in his annual report on the work of the Organization *(A/48/1)*, "a new workable and widely-agreed concept of development still eludes us.

Moreover, the vast challenges of famine, drought, the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), civil wars, uprooted and dislocated populations, and deepening human misery in many parts of the world "make dramatic demands on the UN system to strengthen significantly its field presence, as well as its operational capabilities and responsiveness", the UN Joint Inspection Unit reported *(JIU/REP/92/6/Part II)* in 1992.

Never before have the operational activities within the UN system been called upon to respond to such diversified requirements, often involving the provision of crucial and direct aid to peoples in deep distress and involving also sensitive new fields as part social, economic and political transformation", concurs Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General of the new Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, established to provide support for the central coordinating and policy-making functions vested in the Economic

and Social Council and the General Assembly's Second and Third Committees.

"We must build upon the unique capacity of the United Nations system field structure", said Mr. Desai. "Through this country-level presence, the United Nations system maintains day-to-day contact with national officials and is in a position to provide demand-driven development assistance."

Measures for change and adaptation of UN field work to ensure greater effectiveness and coherence at the country level were included in a comprehensive resolution *(47/199)* on operational activities of the UN development system, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1992 *(see box, page 40)*.

The text called for the UN system, through the Resident Coordinators, to: work with individual countries in formulating a country strategy note for UN operations; adopt a programme approach of linked projects to an overall goal; strengthen the role of resident coordinators; and build national capacities for programme execution to take place at the country level, rather than at the international level.

The package of reforms, said World Food Programme of the United Nations Executive Director Catherine Bertini, speaking before the Council on 7 July, indicated that not only coordination was important, but that "business as usual was not good enough".

Ms. Bertini added: "United Nations agencies are a collection of programmes created by people of goodwill at various times, to handle specific problems. It is now time to weave those mandates and activities together—to avoid duplication and to save precious resources—and to maximize efforts to help those in need."

Rethinking, recasting

The challenge of weaving UN mandates and activities together also extends to the Organization's intergovernmental machinery, particularly in the economic and social fields.

The work of the economic and social sectors was generally less focused than UN activity in the fields of peace and security, due mostly to proliferation of intergovernmental bodies and lack of effective coordinating mechanisms. Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Economic and Social Council on 30 June: "We have to rethink what we mean by social development and economic progress. And we have to recast our institutions in the light of our new thinking."

That process, he said, "must start ... in ECOSOC". The Council "should be providing leadership on economic and social policy for the United Nations. It should also guide the overall management of operational activities."

Thus, he went on, "lines of communication between the Assembly and ECOSOC must be clarified and streamlined. The relationship between ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies also needs to be redefined."

However, despite many months of meetings and negotiations, "practically no progress has been achieved", he declared. "The negotiations have stalled. The reform process has been set back."

Intense negotiations

In June 1993, after months of intense negotiations, a resumed session of the forty-seventh General Assembly postponed action on a draft package of reforms *(A/47/L.58)* aimed at avoiding duplication of work in the General Assembly and the ECOSOC and providing guidelines for the division of labour between the two.

The proposals resulted from long, exhaustive informal consultations, under the guidance of Ramiro Piriz-Ballon of Uruguay, who headed the open-ended negotiating working group established in October 1992.

Among other things, it was suggested that the governing bodies of the UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) be transformed into smaller executive boards under the overall authority of the Economic and Social Council.

Similar arrangements would apply to the Committee of Food Aid Policies and Programmes, which sets policy for the World Food Programme (WFP), a joint organ of the UN and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN. Another proposal would affect the procedures of the Economic and Social Council.

The draft also proposed that the Council's two subcommittees—on economic and on social issues—be subsumed into the plenary.

In 1992, the Secretary-General had reported *(A/47/434)* that Council members were frustrated by repeated discussions of the same issues on four separate occasions during the same calendar year (in the Council's subsidiary body, in the committee session, in Council plenary and in the General Assembly).

By eliminating the subcommittees, it was felt, the Council could refrain from duplicating their substantive debate and concentrate instead on the adoption of subsidiary bodies' recommendations.

Nordic initiative

Many proposals relating to restructuring in the economic and social fields sprang from an initiative—known as the "Nordic UN Project"—undertaken by Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

In 1988, the Nordic Under-Secretaries-General for International Development Cooperation launched a review of the problems of coordination, financing and staffing policy, and proposed changes in the UN Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council, and the programmes and agencies of the UN system.

The Nordic initiative sought to establish a clear division of roles and mandates between the General Assembly and ECOSOC, to avoid overlapping of work between these two governance layers and to establish small executive bodies for each UN fund and programme.

Their final report *(A/C.2/46/7)*, presented to the General Assembly in 1991, supported ongoing discussions

Coordinating the UN mission

In December 1992, the General Assembly, in resolution 47/199, stressed the need for development activities to "be streamlined and rationalized, especially in the interrelated areas of programming, execution, decentralization, monitoring and evaluation, thus making the UN system more relevant and responsive to the national plans, priorities and objectives of developing countries, and more efficient in its delivery systems". The UN Chronicle *spoke with Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General of the Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, which is entrusted with ensuring an integrated approach to UN development activities.*

What are the main functions of your Department?

We want to move away from an imposed vision of development to a shared vision of development. We are not an actor in delivering development, but rather in setting policies of coordination for programmes that will be carried out at the country level. Coordination at that level is the most important aspect of UN operational activities.

Under-Secretary-General Desai

What is the major aim of resolution 47/199 and what are its key proposals?

The basic theme of the resolution is greater coherence and coordination within the UN system to make operational activities for development more relevant and more cost-effective for countries.

One major provision is the formulation of a "country strategy note", which aims to provide an overall mission statement for the UN defined by the national Government, in cooperation with the Organization. The mission statement leads to a linked set of activities by different members of the UN system to achieve common overall goals that have been established by the country itself.

Another key component of 47/199 is the programme approach, which basically requires linking projects of the various organizations so that each one strengthens and reinforces the others. The programme approach is not an entirely new way of operating for UN organizations. What is new is trying to get the various agencies to agree on a common interpretation of the approach. They also have to come up with clear, agreed criteria for programme evaluation.

National execution—meaning administration of programmes through local entities from start to finish—is another important aspect of the new approach, requiring both capacity building and training at the country level.

How do these reforms relate to the overall restructuring efforts under way at the UN?

The point of these reforms is to respond to changing circumstances. As requirements have become more complex, it has become clear that you cannot separate economic and social programmes. Basically, the system has learned that effective interventions have to be multisectoral in character. The basic agenda of the UN cannot be realized without a recognition of the importance of economic and social issues."

towards reform and renewal of the economic and social work of the UN.

Among its proposals, the report suggested establishment of a high-level international development council to discuss development issues and supply general policy guidance for the UN system. The Nordic countries proposed that the Council's functions could be incorporated into existing structures by either:

- maintaining ECOSOC as it is;
- merging the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly; or
- strengthening and enlarging ECOSOC so it becomes a universal body in session in parallel with the General Assembly. (The Second and Third Committees would be abolished.)

Overall, the report concluded: "it is the firm belief of our Governments that an acceleration of the reform process of the UN system is imperative".

Reform delayed

However, rather than speeding up, the reform process slowed down as Luis Fernando Jaramillo of Colombia on 25 June moved to delay Assembly action on the draft text on restructuring and revitalization of the UN in the economic, social and related fields. That text, he said, posed difficulties for a large number of "Group of 77" developing countries.

"There was a consensus on all provisions of the draft, with the exception of the paragraph on the numerical and regional composition of governing bodies of funds and programmes of the Organization", he explained.

Controversy focused on the aspiration of the smallest countries to participate actively in the governing bodies from which they felt excluded due to the "drastic reduction" that would take place in the number of members, he said.

Johan Friis of Denmark, speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, said that the "no action" vote on the reform package had "sent out a loud and clear message to the whole international community" that the majority

of UN Members "were not prepared to agree on very necessary changes that would have improved the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations development system".

Council President Juan Somavia of Chile, in a 28 July letter to the Assembly President, called for action on the reform proposals. The necessary measures for restructuring and revitalizing the Economic and Social Council, he said, must be "adopted expeditiously, in order to enhance further the capacity of the Council to undertake the responsibilities envisaged for it in the Charter of the United Nations".

That view, stated Mr. Somavia, had been "constantly and widely expressed" during the current Council session by delegations of all regional groups and by UN officials throughout the high-level, coordination and operational segments.

"Therefore", he concluded, "the Bureau wishes to convey to you that there is widespread feeling shared among the member States of the Council on the urgent need to come to an agreement on this matter before the closure of the current session of the Assembly."

However, the forty-seventh Assembly session adjourned in September 1993 without having acted on the draft.

First wave

Although current negotiations had stalled, a first wave of restructuring in the economic and social spheres had taken effect.

Beginning in 1992, the traditional biannual convening of the Economic and Social Council had been replaced by one substantive session, divided into three segments: a high-level meeting with ministerial participation; a coordination segment; and an operational activities for development segment.

In August 1992, the Secretary-General began consultations with a panel of independent high-level advisers on the future course of UN development activities.

That led to the creation, within the UN Secretariat, of the Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, the Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, and the Department of Development Support and Management Services.

During earlier restructuring, several UN departments and offices in New York had merged into the Department of Economic and Social Development, to create what the Secretary-General described as "new synergies among the three pillars of Headquarters work": system-wide coordination and policy guidance; research, analysis and studies on important global economic and social issues; and technical cooperation activities in developing countries".

New linkages

However, the task of Secretariat reform in the economic and social area has not been completed, stated the Secretary-General recently *(A/48/428)*. "The creation of new linkages and synergies should be the key components of further reforms in the future." These could be achieved, he reported, by:

- Improved inter-agency linkages and coordination at the field level, between research and analysis on one hand and operational activities on the other, and among the global activities of the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions.
- Strengthening the UN's ability to deal with the increased demands for peacemaking, peace-keeping and related field operations through greater coordination within an integrated structure, improved budgetary planning, enhanced management control, and audit and programme evaluation. Ensuring the safety and security of staff in the field is a related challenge.
- Pursuing a more comprehensive approach to preventive diplomacy by developing a network of early warning systems, ranging from environmental threats, the risk of nuclear accidents and natural disasters to mass population movements, the threat of famine and the spread of disease.
- Carrying forward the reform process in a number of duty stations as part of a decentralization process. A key concern will be more effective Organization-wide distribution of responsibilities and improved coordination between functions performed at Headquarters and those carried out at regional and country levels.

A 'people-centred' view

The overall aim of reforms in these areas, said Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 30 June, is a "people-centred view of development in which societies foster a new sense of inclusiveness and belonging for all, in which equality of opportunity becomes a reality, and from which exclusion, marginalization and alienation are banished".

He continued: "We must overcome the contradictions, conflicts and antagonisms which invariably prevail in this sector and which, often, merely testify to our inability to imagine what lies ahead, our intellectual laziness in the face of the future or the imaginary fear which prevents us from devising an innovative economic and social policy.

"Unless we make headway in these areas, the new clarity of focus which the United Nations system so desperately needs will elude us."

A New Framework for Development Cooperation

By Dr. Mahbub ul Haq
Special Adviser to the UNDP Administrator
From an address to the European Parliamentarian Conference
17 September, Bonn, Germany

Dr. Haq

A new concept of global human security is beginning to emerge—hesitantly but surely—from the receding shadows of the cold war.

Human security:

- is not just security of land, it is security of people;
- is not just security through arms, it is security through development;
- is not just security of nations, it is security of individuals in their homes and in their jobs;
- is not just a defence against conflicts between nations, it is a defence against conflicts between people.

Human security is a child that did not die, a disease that did not spread, an ethnic violence that did not explode, a woman who was not raped, a poor person that did not starve, a dissident who was not silenced, a human spirit that was not crushed.

Let us also recognize four new dimensions of this emerging concept of human security:

- First, people security is relevant to people everywhere, whether in rich nations or in poor.
- Second, when security of people is attacked in any corner of the world, all nations are likely to get involved. Famines, ethnic conflicts, social integration, terrorism, pollution, drug trafficking, are no longer isolated events, confined within national borders. Global communications now force them on our collective conscience. And their consequences travel all over the globe.
- Third, it is less costly to meet these threats upstream than downstream. A $2-billion spent on soldiers in Somalia today buys us much less human security than the same investment would have 10 years ago in socio-economic development.
- Fourth, new threats to human security require sustainable human development, not acquisition of more powerful weapons.

It is within this new framework of human security that we must also design a new pattern of development cooperation, based on:

- mutual contracts between nations, not one-way transfers;
- investment in the common objectives of global survival and global prosperity; and
- a new respect for human security all over the world.

Let me offer you a concrete six-point new design of development cooperation. First, we need a new motivation for development cooperation, based on fighting the growing threat of global poverty rather than the receding threat of the cold war.

Let us also put aside around 2 per cent of existing official development assistance (ODA) budgets (or about $1 billion a year) for cultivating the new constituencies of change—half of it to be spent bilaterally, and half through international channels.

Second, let us persuade the nations of the world that the cold war must be phased out of the Third World as well.

Isn't it time that we ask the leaders of the Third World why they insist on spending two to three times as much on arms as on the education and health of their people? And isn't it time that we ask the leaders of the rich nations to . . . fix a concrete timetable within which they undertake to close down all existing military bases, convert all existing military aid into economic aid and stop the existing arms shipments of over $35 billion a year to make huge profits from poor nations that cannot even feed their people.

Third, let us demonstrate to our skeptical public opinion that we can finance the essential human development agenda even by reallocating priorities in our existing budgets.

Let us persuade the developing countries to commit an average of 20 per cent of their budgets to human priority concerns instead of the present 10 per cent—by reducing military expenditures, by privatizing inefficient public enterprises, and by eliminating low-priority development expenditure. And let us persuade the rich nations to raise their human priority allocations from the existing 7 per cent to around 20 per cent.

Fourth, let us redress the growing imbalance between short-term emergency assistance and long-term development support.

Fifth, let us search for a more innovative model of development cooperation which is based on the new insights into human security, not on outmoded ideas of charity.

Let me conclude with one suggestion. The world needs today new concepts of human security. It is searching today for new models of human development. Is it not possible for you to build up a nucleus for that leadership in your countries by setting up Parliamentary committees on human development?

These committees could engage the energies of all prominent opinion makers and agents of change in your systems. They could start a whole new movement for change, in our thinking and in our institutions, in the coming decade.

And many years from now, we can look at our grandchildren right in the eye and tell them quite proudly: "Yes, we tried".

Adapting UN structures to a rapidly evolving world

With UN worldwide responsibilities now expanding to virtually every conceivable area of human activity—"from every angle of vision, chronological, practical, functional, conceptual, individual and institutional, we come to one conclusion", asserted Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his annual report to the General Assembly.

"Humanity's project is now truly universal, and to cope with it we must fashion comprehensive and integral projects, policies and efforts," he declared.

The main objective of UN restructuring is, therefore, "to consolidate and streamline the activities of the Organization into well-defined functional categories" to ensure effective implementation of mandates entrusted to the Secretariat by the policy-making organs, he stated in a 29 September report on the restructuring and efficiency of the Secretariat.

During the wide-ranging reform's first phase, initiated in February 1992, a number of offices were regrouped and related activities consolidated. "As a result, unnecessary bureaucratic layers have been reduced and certain peripheral activities eliminated", he reported.

Among the structural changes:

♦ A Department of Political Affairs was created to encompass the former Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, Centre Against Apartheid, the Office for Political and General Assembly Affairs, the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, and the Department for Disarmament Affairs.

♦ A new Department of Peacekeeping Operations was established, incorporating the former Office for Special Political Affairs.

♦ A Department of Economic and Social Development was formed, to replace the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, the Department of Technical Cooperation and Development, the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations, and the Centre for Science and Technology for Development.

♦ A new Department of Humanitarian Affairs was established, absorbing the functions performed by the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator, the Unit for Special Emergency Programmes, and various offices and units dealing with emergencies and humanitarian assistance programmes.

♦ The Department of Conference Services became an Office and was made part of the Department of Administration and Management.

In a second wave of organizational restructuring related to economic and social affairs, the Secretary-General decided to establish three new Secretariat departments, focusing respectively on policy coordination and sustainable development; economic and social information and policy analysis; and development support and management services.

Persistent attempts

As with previous restructuring exercises, the new measures have sought to develop clearer lines of authority, responsibility, accountability and communication; improve coordination; and avoid duplication of work.

However, one UN body—the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions—noted in March that "there is a need for a clear statement of an overall restructuring plan and a time-frame for its implementation". The Committee thought the Secretary-General should demonstrate "how the restructuring would achieve the management aim of a more responsive, cost-effective, streamlined Secretariat".

Indeed, restructuring and reform are not challenges which are unique to the current UN administration.

"The haphazard growth and complexity of the United Nations Secretariat has led to persistent attempts at reform over the years, including major attempts in 1953, 1961, 1966, 1969, 1975, 1982, 1986 and 1992", the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU)—the General Assembly's watchdog—reported *(A/48/420)* this year *(see story, pg. 44)*.

While the Unit expressed "full respect" for continued reforms, it also was concerned that "rapid and continuing restructurings risk accentuating confusion and blurring responsibilities".

The JIU warned: "Worst of all, they might become an end in themselves, actually serving to avoid accountability through the turmoil of endless organizational reshuffling."

The Joint Inspection Unit: A unique UN body

The Joint Inspection Unit (JIU)—a UN "watchdog"—is "the only independent body system-wide to supervise the management, accountability and efficiency of the UN", said JIU Inspector Francesco Mezzalama, a former Italian diplomat.

The Unit, created by the General Assembly on an experimental basis in 1968 and formally established in 1978, concentrates on development of cooperation in the UN system, staff policy, and planning, programming and evaluation.

Consisting of 11 inspectors—chosen from among members of national supervision and inspection bodies, or from among persons of similar competence in dealing with administrative, financial and management questions—the Geneva-based Unit is "a unique body, whose work has not received the required attention", Mr. Mezzalama recently told the *UN Chronicle*.

He emphasized that the Unit's work is "strictly linked with the requirements of more management efficiency, streamlined administration and all necessary efforts under way to improve the management of the UN and the UN system as such".

The Unit has broad investigative powers on all fields having a bearing on efficiency and proper use of funds. However, it does not have decision-making powers and cannot interfere in the operations of the services it inspects. In the view of some, this renders the Unit "a toothless bulldog", as one delegate told the Fifth Committee on 10 November.

The JIU is responsible to the Assembly and to the relevant legislative bodies of the specialized agencies and of other international organizations of the UN system, Mr. Mezzalama stated.

JIU Inspector Francesco Mezzalama

He is typical of the inspectors comprising the Unit. Born in Italy in 1924, Mr. Mezzalama has extensive diplomatic experience and served as a member of the Italian delegation to the General Assembly from 1986 to 1989.

The inspectors conduct their investigation individually or in small groups, sometimes without prior notification, in any of the services of the organizations, Mr. Mezzalama stated.

The Unit presents original versions of the inspectors' reports to the heads of the concerned organizations and presents an annual report of its activities to the Assembly and relevant bodies.

In the 25 years of its existence, the JIU has produced 282 reports and notes, he pointed out. Investigations in 1993 include those on staffing of the civilian component of UN peace-keeping and related missions; accountability and oversight in the UN Secretariat; operational activities for development of the UN system with non-governmental organizations and Governments at the grassroots and national levels; and a note on the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace".

Through its reports, the Unit contributes, Mr. Mezzalama said, "to the search for the improvement of the activities of the organizations of the UN system in the field of international economic cooperation".

'Group of 18': Major precursor

A major precursor to the present process of reform was the creation of the 18-member Group of High-level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the UN. This prestigious panel, established in December 1985 by resolution 40/237, produced 71 recommendations to streamline the UN structure, describing it in its report as "too complex, fragmented and top-heavy".

Among the proposals were: staff cuts; significant reductions in the number of conferences, resolutions and reports; improved coordination in work programmes to eliminate duplication; and measures to ensure the recruitment of women.

The Group's recommendations, which gave particular attention to restructuring in economic and social activities, were adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 1986 *(resolution 41/213)*, marking what one Member State described then as "the beginning, not the end, of a process of reforming and improving the Organization".

Accountability emphasized

As that process stretched into the 1990s, reform has focused not only on streamlining, but also on ensuring that the UN operates in an atmosphere of "accountability and responsibility".

In 1993, internal controls and audit mechanisms, the Secretary-General has reported *(A/48/1)*, were strengthened as requested by Member States in different forums.

In August, in the wake of continuing criticism of UN performance, he created the new post of Assistant Secretary-General to oversee the Office for Inspections and Investigations, incorporating various units dealing with audit, management advisory services, evaluation and monitoring, currently within the Department of Administration and Management.

"This appointment is the first step towards the establishment of a higher level post with broader audit, evalua-

tion and investigation authority", reported the Secretary-General.

The new Assistant Secretary-General, Mohamed Aly Niazi of Egypt, has a strong track record of not only investigating allegations of mismanagement, but also of tracking them down and saving the UN millions of dollars in the process, a UN official stated after announcing the appointment on 24 August.

Mr. Niazi, he said, would be examining closely "every single allegation of fraud and mismanagement", reporting directly to the Secretary-General and working closely with the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management.

Uncovering waste and fraud

In a report on "accountability and oversight" in the UN Secretariat *(A/48/420)*, the JIU expressed the opinion that Mr. Niazi could "contribute greatly to reducing the serious deficiencies in present oversight, accountability, internal control and management improvement processes".

However, Inspectors were concerned "lest Member States and Secretariat managers, in a commendable zeal for economy, try to establish accountability and oversight controls 'on the cheap'".

In addition, uncovering waste, fraud and corruption must be joined by improved management. "Thus, it is vital that the new office devote substantial time and resources to assisting the Secretary-General in creating and maintaining a dynamic management culture throughout the Secretariat", the JIU reported.

The Unit further recommended that in considering establishment of a "higher level post", the General Assemby should:

- Carefully assess the many long-standing problems of the former oversight units, which shared certain fundamental shortcomings, including understaffing, particularly of fully-qualified, competent people; lack of independence; and gaps in coverage of large-scale and complex field operations;
- Seek to institutionalize independence, accountability, flexibility, transparency, professionalism, improved compliance, economies of scale and, above all, managerial improvement, which a single, consolidated internal oversight unit could offer; and
- Consider establishing a UN Office of Accountability and Oversight, with a mandate to audit, inspect, investigate, evaluate and help improve UN programmes, activities and personnel practices for which the Secretary-General had administrative responsibility.

UN management and personnel practices were criticized in a controversial report presented to the Secretary-General in 1993 by former United States Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, who left his post as Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management on 26 February.

Mr. Thornburgh claimed that "defects exist in nearly every aspect of present personnel practices", and he complained about a shortage of qualified managers at the UN.

It is "not easy to stand back and consider what needs to be done for the future—for the management and development of the human resources of the Organization for the nineties, and into the twenty-first century", the Secretary-General told the Staff/Management Coordinating Committee in New York on 20 September. "But today we must do just that. We must consider how to manage and develop the human resources on which so much depends."

He added: "For the rest of this century, and into the next, the staff will be central to the world's peace and development."

Answering charges

Melissa Wells, Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management, stressed to reporters in New York on 26 August that the Secretary-General was "deeply committed to reform and to addressing waste, abuse and fraud through a system-wide approach".

Responding to press charges of corruption and inefficiency related to UN procurement, particularly in Cambodia, Ms. Wells said the UN was currently investigating "alleged irregularities in the bidding process".

Problems with procurement of minivans and pre-fabricated houses in Cambodia had arisen due to the lack of "perfect vision into the future", she said.

A survey team had assessed a need for a certain number of pre-fab housing for outlying areas, but within four to six months people had begun building houses. So pre-fab units had been redirected to Somalia and other areas.

Similarly, the number of minivans needed was overestimated, but when the Organization had tried to cancel its original order, the manufacturer had refused.

Ms. Wells also addressed recent tightening of security at UN Headquarters in the wake of the World Trade Center bombing, which included suspending public guided tours. The UN "could not open its doors as it had done in the past", she stated. It had now become a place "where dramatic, unfortunate incidents can occur".

Security Council

With the dramatic growth in UN membership and changes in the global balance of political and economic power, there has been increasing pressure for reconsidering the composition of the Security Council, especially the possible addition of permanent members.

Following a General Assembly request *(resolution 47/62)* in 1992, Member States were asked to comment on possible review of Council membership. "Proposals warranting serious study are now on the table" the Secretary-General reported to the Assembly. "The question of the Security Council's membership structure is of crucial importance, and I look forward to the issue being resolved by the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization."

On its creation in 1945, the UN's membership numbered 51, and the Council was composed of 11 nations, including 5 permanent members. UN Charter provisions on the Council's composition and voting procedures were formally amended once, in December 1963, when membership was raised

Towards a new clarity

from 11 to 15, and the vote required for adoption of decisions went from 7 to 9. No changes were made regarding permanent members or the veto

Recently, Japan and Germany have laid claim to permanent Council seats, primarily because of their increasing financial contributions to the UN. Other countries, such as Brazil, Egypt, India and Nigeria, have also sought permanent membership, because of demographic importance or political influence in their regions or special groups. Any changes require a formal amendment to the Charter.

Among proponents of increased Council membership is Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, who, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, told the press on 5 October that the number of permanent and non-permanent members should be augmented, particularly the number of developing countries.

Towards that end, the Movement had established, he said, some principles for membership based on economic and political weight, geographic representation and demographic realities. The Movement also favoured eliminating the veto.

However, the United States Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the UN—a privately-funded group established by Congress in 1987—stated in its final report of September 1993 that "a greatly expanded Council could prove unwieldy and impaired in its ability to reach consensus on major issues".

It suggested that to assure adequate participation in the Council of major Powers not now represented, a permanent seat be given to each of three regions—Africa, South and East Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. To prevent the Council from growing too large, the Commission would prefer to include representatives from those regions, as well as from Germany and Japan, without changing the Council's present size of 15 members.

Future composition

A consultation in November 1992 on the role and composition of the Security Council, co-sponsored by the International Peace Academy and the Stanley Foundation, was attended by several Permanent Representatives to the UN and personalities from the media, academia, and business. The experts strongly agreed that changes in the Council's composition would be "inevitable" and clarifications of its role and relationship with the General Assembly were desirable.

Some expressed misgivings over a lack of openness in the decision-making process of the Council. Many of its actions seemed to be taken in advance by the five permanent members, it was felt, and the Council was resorting more often to closed-door informal consultations to discuss important issues.

That concern was also raised in June 1993 when speakers at a resumed Assembly session called for summaries of Council informal consultations to be included in its annual report to increase transparency and inform general UN membership of its intentions.

On 4 August, Council President Madeleine K. Albright of the United States said that a number of steps would be taken to bring greater transparency to the work of the Council, including posting its agenda on a daily basis.

General Assembly

While the General Assembly is "playing an increasingly practical role in world activities", the Secretary-General in his annual report stated that its work "could be further streamlined".

Noting that many resolutions did not address policy issues, but were more in the line of work programme decisions (i.e. taking note of a report and requesting the Secretary-General to prepare another report), Mr. Boutros-Ghali suggested that "in the interests of efficiency, the resolution format be reserved for General Assembly actions that address policy matters and formulate recommendations for action by Member States and the international community".

Member States were asked to "carefully review the need for every report" as there were "many documents requested by the General Assembly on a recurrent basis that add little or no useful information to the report of the previous year".

The Assembly has undertaken efforts to enhance its own capacity to fulfil the role envisaged for it under the Charter and increase its effectiveness.

On 14 September, the forty-seventh Assembly decided *(resolution 47/233)*, as a first step, to make changes in the committee structure of the Assembly "to respond better to the requirements of the new phase of international relations".

Among the changes, the Special Political and the Decolonization Committees were merged into a new Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee), which is responsible for all agenda items previously assigned to the two commitees.

On 10 November, Assembly President S. R. Insanally announced that he was establishing an open-ended working group on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, with a view to carrying out the tasks set forth in resolution 47/233.

Such improvements, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has stated, "can have no limit", yet he hoped that the present phase of restructuring and renewal would be completed by 1995, the UN's fiftieth anniversary.

"The pace set must, therefore, be increased", he concluded, "if the United Nations is to keep ahead of the acceleration of history that characterizes this age." ■

A victim of its own popularity?

The UN is being restructured to serve its ends anew, the Secretary-General stated in his 1992 report on the work of the Organization *(A/47/1)*. "Yet, amid the tumult of demands placed upon it, the United Nations cannot afford to become a victim of its own popularity, suffering from a crisis of expectations rather than, as in the past, from a lack of credibility in its capacity to command consensus", the Secretary-General declared.

"In carrying out its added responsibilities, the institutional innovation and political resilience of the Organization have been as striking as its financial insecurity."

A year later, in September 1993, Mr. Boutros-Ghali warned: "The unprecedented growth in the demand for the services of the United Nations has stretched financial resources to the breaking point."

Hand to mouth

Indeed, he announced to the Fifth Committee on 26 August that the UN was "living from hand to mouth". To deal with the grave financial crisis, he cracked down on overtime and travel, as well as the use of outside consultants.

Although the crisis was not new, the situation had become "very difficult", he went on. Earlier in the month, he had informed Heads of State and Government of the Security Council members that with total cash reserves sufficient for less than two months of operations, the financial situation of the UN might soon prevent it "from discharging its responsibilities for international peace and security".

A most serious problem facing the UN was the cash-flow situation regarding peace-keeping operations, the Secretary-General reported. On 11 August, a group of peace-keeping troop-contributing countries expressed concern *(S/26273)* over delays in reimbursement of expenses, which they said would make it difficult to participate in UN peace-keeping operations, particularly for developing countries.

Advisory Group

To help solve UN financial problems, the Ford Foundation, at the request of the Secretary-General, assembled in September 1992 an independent advisory group to recommend ways to create a secure, long-term financial base for the Organization. In February 1993, the group published a report entitled "Financing an Effective United Nations", which the Secretary-General has described as "comprehensive" and containing "many valuable recommendations".

The group, which was co-chaired by Shijuro Ogata, former Deputy Governer of the Japan Development Bank, and Paul Volcker, former Board of Governors' Chairman of the United States Federal Reserve Bank, suggested:

- Dividing UN expenditures into three categories: a regular budget financed by assessed contributions; peace-keeping financed by a separate assessment; and humanitarian and development activities financed largely by voluntary contributions.
- Requiring UN Member States to pay dues in four quarterly installments, instead of a single lump sum at the beginning of the year; and granting the Organization authority to charge interest on late payments.
- Appropriation by some nations of their UN contribution earlier in the year.
- Acceptance by Member States of significantly increased peace-keeping costs over the next few years, and financing future cost from national defense budgets.
- Creation by the UN of a $400-million revolving reserve fund for peace-keeping; and consideration of a unified peace-keeping budget, financed by a single annual assessment.

The report concluded that proposals for additional, non-governmental sources of financing the UN were "neither practical nor desirable".

The Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) also reviewed in 1993 UN financing, reporting on reflections on the proposals contained in the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace".

Noting that the UN's financial crisis had "reached perhaps an unprecedented dimension", the JIU stated that "the gravity of the situation commands urgent action".

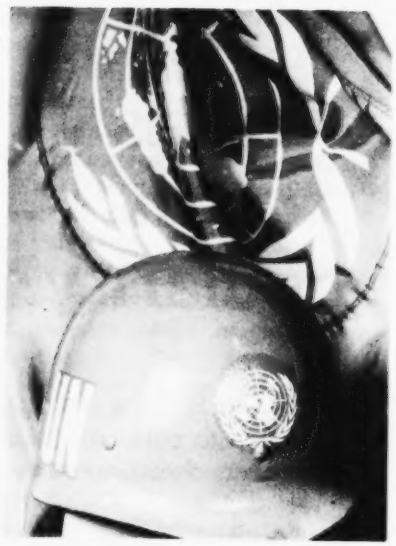
Despite constant efforts throughout the years to find suitable remedies, the report declared: "The old financial malaise is emerging with renewed evidence. What was a chronic illness is becoming a critical one."

Among JIU proposals:

- Governments should adjust their national legislations to avoid obstacles to paying their UN contributions in full and on time.
- Replenishment of the proposed UN Peace Endowment Fund could take advantage of initiatives, such as the issuance of special stamps by Member States, with revenues turned over to the Organization.
- Countries could turn over to peace-keeping operations funds earmarked for aid to developing countries in which the existing critical situation is an impediment to using those funds.
- In parallel with financing, cost-saving is indispensable to solving the financial crisis. Fighting waste and reducing expenses must take place in all areas of the Organization.

The UN must "have what any mechanism requires—the basic resources to operate effectively over time", the Secretary-General told Assembly dignitaries at a luncheon in their honour in New York on 27 September. "This is not now the case." ■

Peace-keeping: A whole new range of responsibilities



Peace-keeping, observed Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his annual report on the work of the Organization, "now stretches across a heretofore unimagined range of United Nations activities and responsibilities".

Traditional assumptions, he continued, relating to the "upholding of agreements, the consent and cooperation of the parties and the minimum use of force, have all been under challenge from recent developments in certain peace-keeping operations".

In South Africa, for example, civilian UN observers have for the first time been sent to a country with the consent of the Government to assist in what is purely a domestic matter: containing the level of violence. And in The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, for the first time ever in UN history, military units have been deployed as a measure of preventive diplomacy.

'Agenda' proposals

In his "An Agenda for Peace", Mr. Boutros-Ghali set out proposals for the future of peace operations undertaken by the UN, including: fostering preventive diplomacy through establishment of an early warning system for assessing possible threats to peace; pursuing greater roles in peacemaking by establishing a permanent standing UN force to serve as a "guarantor of international security"; responding to increasing demands for peace-keeping by creation of a $50-million revolving peace-keeping reserve fund; and promoting post-conflict peace-building by undertaking such tasks as demining combat zones, monitoring elections and repatriating refugees—as the UN has recently done in Cambodia.

Another increasingly important aspect of UN activities is humanitarian assistance. "Frequently, situations of humanitarian need provide indications of impending conflict even before they develop into more serious threats to international peace and security", the Secretary-General reported. "Early awareness of the root causes of conflict can allow appropriate preventive action to be taken."

To that end, the new Department of Humanitarian Affairs manages an inter-agency early-warning mechanism for examining possible situations of mass population displacement.

"Food, water, land-mines, disease and death, and democratization, human rights and development are inextricably intertwined", he stated. "Efforts to deal with particular issues cannot succeed in the absence of a comprehensive vision of the whole."

As a step towards realizing that vision, the Foreign Ministers of the Security Council's five permanent members have agreed to cooperate in strengthening UN capabilities in the peace-keeping area.

In a 30 September statement *(S/26517)*, they pledged strong support for efforts to improve UN efficiency and to revitalize the Organization's peace-keeping capabilities.

They stressed the importance of peace-keeping reform, including improving budget procedures and modernizing command, control and communications. States willing to contribute troops and other forms of material assistance to UN operations should coordinate their efforts.

New commitments, they said, should be weighed very carefully and made only after fundamental questions of mandate, objectives, adequacy of force, availability of resources, risk to personnel, and length of mandate had been examined and satisfactorily resolved. Coordination with humanitarian assistance operations was also desirable.

Safety a concern

On 29 September, the Security Council encouraged Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali to move forward with his security proposals.

By unanimously adopting resolution 868 (1993), the Council determined that future UN operations would require that host Governments take steps to ensure the security and safety of UN operations, including that of all personnel.

The Council resolutely condemned increasing attacks against UN personnel and confirmed that the use of force against them would be considered interference with the exercise of Council responsibilities and "may require the Council to consider measures it deems appropriate".

It welcomed initiatives being taken in the General Assembly "to consider the elaboration of new instruments" relating to the security and safety of UN forces and personnel. ■

1993 session: Focus on human rights, social development

UN Photo 183547

The ECOSOC coordination segment, 2 July in Geneva.

During its five-week substantive session of 1993 (28 June-30 July, Geneva), the Economic and Social Council adopted more than 100 resolutions and decisions on an entire gamut of issues before it. Among the highlights to be recommended to the General Assembly were: adoption of a Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women; launching of the 1994 International Year of the Family; proclamation of 1995 as the UN Year for Tolerance, and 1994-2003 as the third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; and declaration of 3 May as World Press Freedom Day.

More than 50 Government Ministers and officials of multilateral financial institutions, at the Council's two-day high-level segment (29-30 June), discussed the role of the UN system in promoting social development, including preparations for the World Summit for Social Development, scheduled to take place in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1995.

Emergency relief and the continuum from rehabilitation to development were a focus of the coordination segment, convened from 1 to 6 July. The Council agreed that the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator should serve as the humanitarian advocate to ensure that the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality are fully taken into account in planning the Organization's responses to complex emergencies and that relief strategies should be compatible with longer-term rehabilitation and development.

Efforts by the UN system to prevent malaria and diarrhoeal cases were also addressed during that segment, and the Council decided that prevention and treatment of those diseases should be included as a major focus of health and development, as the benefits dwarfed the costs involved.

In the wake of its operational activities for development segment (7-9 July), the Council underlined the importance of making early progress on decentralization and delegation of authority in field operations and requested the UN system to devote sufficient resources to the triennial policy review of the Organization's operational activities.

Following is an overview of other selected texts, many of which were recommended for final action by the General Assembly.

HUMAN RIGHTS . . .

♦ Asked for the elaboration of a draft optional protocol to the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; and of a draft declaration on "the right and responsibility of individuals, groups and organs of society to promote and protect universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms"; and requested annual reports on the transition to democracy in South Africa.

♦ Established a working group to identify obstacles to implementing the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, and asked for intensified implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

♦ Approved preparation of a study on the human rights dimensions of population transfer, including the implantation of settlers and settlements, and continued work on a study on the right to a fair trial.

♦ Requested a report on ways the International Labour Organisation and other UN bodies protect children and other persons exposed to contemporary forms of slavery.

♦ Approved an expert meeting on international standards concerning the human rights of detained juveniles.

♦ Asked for appointments of Special Rapporteurs on: human rights and extreme poverty; contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the right to freedom of opinion; the right to adequate housing; rape and abuse of women and children in the

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former Yugoslavia; human rights situation in Sudan; and alleged violations by Israel of international law and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

• Extended the mandates of Special Rapporteurs on Cuba, Afghanistan, Haiti, Myanmar and Iraq.

• Called for appointment for one year of a human rights expert to assist the Special Representative for Somalia; asked for a one-year mandate extension for the independent expert in El Salvador; and approved funds to support the Centre for Human Rights in Cambodia.

ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES . . .

• Welcomed Japan's invitation to host the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction from 23 to 27 May 1994.

• Requested a report on scientific and technological aspects of the conversion of military capacity for civilian use and sustainable development, having stressed the importance of supporting developing countries in harnessing the potential of science and technology in achieving sustainable development.

• Established an ad hoc panel of experts to study strategies for using science and technology in promoting exports.

• Called for studies on global investment flows related to transnational corporations, in particular on the role of foreign investment in Africa.

• Urged African countries to mobilize their own financial resources through increased domestic savings and better management of national resources.

• Asked developing countries to complete the fourth replenishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

• Supported decentralization to achieve a more effective distribution of responsibilities between global, regional and national entities in the social and economic fields.

• Asked that priority be given to strengthening technical cooperation among developing countries.

WOMEN'S ISSUE . . .

• In recommending adoption of the Declaration on Violence against Women, called for condemnation of such violence; asked that States not invoke any "custom, tradition or religious consideration" to avoid obligations as to its elimination; and urged steps to guarantee appropriate punishment of perpetrators of such violence.

• Called for further steps, as requested in "Agenda 21", to ensure participation of women in policies relating to sustainable development.

• Asked again for measures to advance the status of women within the UN, including promotion to senior-level positions.

• Urged those involved in the multi party forum in South Africa to place high on their agenda issues concerning women, and urged support for projects to aid Palestinian women.

DISABLED, ELDERLY AND YOUTH . . .

• Recommended adoption by the General Assembly of the draft Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, which provides preconditions, targets, implementation measures and monitoring mechanisms for equal participation.

• Asked for a draft plan of action based on the work of the UN Expert Group Meeting on a Long-Term Strategy to Further the Implementation of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons to the Year 2000 and Beyond, adopted in 1982.

• Asked that the International Year of Older Persons be redesignated as the International Year of the Elderly, and appealed for wide support for its observance in 1999.

• Endorsed the calendar of activities to mark in 1995 the tenth anniversary of the International Youth Year, with the theme: Participation, Development, Peace.

DRUGS AND CRIME . . .

• Asked for convening in 1994 of a World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime.

• Approved the provisional agenda for the Ninth Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, to be held in Italy in 1995.

• Urged dissemination of the proposed guidelines on urban crime to be considered by the Ninth Crime Congress.

• Requested that activities in the field of environmental crime be considered within the UN.

• Stressed the importance of developing programmes to combat drug abuse by reducing demand, and called for implementation of the 1989 UN System-wide Action Plan on Drug Abuse Control.

OTHER MATTERS . . .

• Urged Governments to intensify their commitment to reduce tobacco consumption.

• Supported the World Health Assembly's call for a study on establishing a joint UN programme on human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

• Supported the action programme to improve the UN informatics systems.

• Urged States to incorporate population, environment and development concerns in their inputs to the forthcoming International Conference on Population and Development, and asked for completion by February 1994 of a draft final document for that meeting.

• Accepted China's invitation to host the thirteenth UN Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Pacific, and decided to convene the Sixth UN Regional Cartographic Conference for the Americas during the first half of 1997.

• Approved a special session of the Statistical Commission to monitor progress made in the revised System of National Accounts.

• Recommended adequate funding for the Committee of Experts on the Transport of Dangerous Goods.

• Reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people and the population of the occupied Syrian Golan to their economic resources, and called for the immediate lifting of Israeli restrictions that might hinder UN assistance to the Palestinian people. ■

GEORGIA

New UN peace-keeping operation launched to verify cease-fire pact

A new international peace-keeping operation, the first on the territory of the former Soviet Union, was established by the Security Council on 24 August for an initial period of six months. In unanimously adopting resolution 858 (1993), the Council called on all parties to cooperate fully with the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), to ensure the safety of all UN and "all other peace-keeping and humanitarian personnel within Georgia".

Some 88 military observers are to verify compliance with the 27 July Cease-fire Agreement between Georgia and the separatist forces in the Black Sea region of Abkhazia. They are also to investigate reports of cease-fire violations and "attempt to resolve such incidents with the parties involved".

Acting on the Secretary-General's recommendation (*S/26250*), the Council welcomed the proposed deployment of mixed interim monitoring groups of Georgian/Abkhaz/Russian units designed to consolidate the cease-fire, and asked the Secretary-General to facilitate cooperation between these units and the UN observers.

The Secretary-General was also asked to "pursue energetically", through his Special Envoy Edouard Brunner, "efforts to facilitate the peace process and negotiations, starting as soon as possible, towards the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement".

The Council expressed its continuing support for the Secretary-General's ongoing cooperation with the Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in efforts to "bring peace to Georgia and elsewhere in the region".

Brigadier-General John Hvidegaard of Denmark on 27 August was appointed as Chief Military Observer of UNOMIG. The military observers are to come from Austria, Bangladesh, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Poland, Sierra Leone, Sweden and Switzerland.

A delicate stage

On 6 August, in unanimously adopting resolution 854 (1993), the Council had approved the dispatch of an advance team of up to 10 UN military observers to Abkhazia for three months.

> **"A political process must begin to tackle the root of the conflict, which is political in nature"**

Such early deployment, the Secretary-General said (*S/26254*) on 4 August, could serve as a "significant confidence-building measure by demonstrating the support of the international community for the cease-fire during its initial delicate stage".

While the cease-fire and deployment of UN and Russian observers were "important steps in the right direction", he stated (*S/26264*) on 6 August, a political process must also begin to "tackle the root of the conflict ... which was political in nature".

On 9 July, the Council in resolution 849 (1993) asked that the Secretary-General's Special Envoy be sent to Abkhazia to "assist in reaching agreement on the implemention of the cease-fire" and that plans for the dispatch of 50 military observers to Georgia be launched.

The Council acted in response to reports of increased fighting around Sukhumi, the capital of Abkhazia. The cease-fire agreement between the parties, with the Russian Federation as facilitator, was signed on 27 July in Sochi. A UN planning team visited the conflict area from 19 to 27 July, followed by a visit of the Special Envoy from 27 to 31 July.

On 16 September, the 27 July Cease-fire Agreement was broken when the Abkhaz forces began a new offensive. The Secretary-General stated that the renewed outbreak of fighting in Abkhazia jeopardized the regional peace process under UN auspices. All parties, in particular the Abkhaz side, should stop the fighting immediately and withdraw to the original cease-fire lines, he stressed.

The Council on 17 September demanded an immediate end to the hostilities, warning the Abkhaz leadership that failure to take such action could entail the risk of "serious consequences". In a statement (*S/26463*) by its President, Adolfo Raul Taylhardat of Venezuela, the Council strongly condemned the cease-fire violation.

The Secretary-General on 24 September said he was deeply saddened by the suffering inflicted on innocent civilians in Abkhazia.

The Council's request for immediate restoration of the cease-fire should be "heeded without delay" to avoid further destruction and loss of innocent life. That would greatly enhance the prospects for negotiations on a comprehensive political settlement, he said, due to commence under the auspices of his Special Envoy. ■

UN peace-keepers to monitor cease-fire, elections; coordinate humanitarian aid

The Security Council on 22 September established the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to monitor the cease-fire established in July 1993, observe the elections scheduled for February/March 1994, and coordinate humanitarian aid.

The Council's action followed the signing on 25 July in Cotonou, Benin, of a peace agreement between the three parties to the Liberian conflict: the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO).

The new UN peace-keeping operation in Africa will work in cooperation with an already existing peace-keeping mission of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

ECOWAS oversaw the formulation of the 1991 Yamoussoukro IV Accord, described in the Cotonou Agreement as the "best framework for peace in Liberia".

In adopting resolution 866 (1993), the Council welcomed the decision to establish a transitional government in Liberia and encouraged African States to provide additional troops requested for ECOWAS' Economic Community Monitoring Group, known as ECOMOG.

It also urged the Liberian parties to commence the encampment, disarmament and demobilization process without delay, and called on them to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance.

UNOMIL will be comprised of some 300 military observers, as well as humanitarian and electoral components. Among its specific duties will be investigating reported cease-fire violations, observing the election process, helping coordinate humanitarian assistance, reporting violations of international humanitarian law, and training ECOMOG engineers in land mine clearance.

The Council approved the UNOMIL operation for a seven-month period, until April 1994. The Secretary-General is to report to the Security Council by mid-December on progress achieved.

On 9 September, the Secretary-General reported (*S/26422*) that, while UNOMIL and ECOMOG were to collaborate closely, it would not impede the UN mission from operating independently, as required. This unprecedented cooperation of the UN with a regional mission was "a special opportunity" which might set a precedent for future peace-keeping operations, he said.

Brigadier-General Ian Douglas of Canada headed a planning mission which visited Liberia from 6 to 13 August.

On 10 August, the Council, in unanimously adopting resolution 856 (1993), agreed to send an advance team of 30 military observers to monitor and investigate violations of the cease-fire in Liberia, which had taken effect on 1 August.

It also commended the Organization of African Unity for supporting the peace process and ECOWAS for helping to restore peace and security in Liberia.

Addressing the Council on 10 August, Liberian Foreign Minister Gabriel Baccus Matthews said the Cotonou Agreement represented a "significant breakthrough in the quest for durable peace in Liberia", after the last three and a half years when "war, death and desolation were visited upon the Liberian people".

Special Representative Trevor Gordon-Somers had visited the region to prepare the ground for talks between the three Liberian parties, which were held in Geneva from 10 to 17 July. From that emerged a framework settlement, which became the basis of the Cotonou Agreement (*S/26272*).

The parties agreed to establish a single transitional government—the Liberia National Transitional Government—and to hold general and presidential elections within seven months.

To enhance confidence between ECOMOG and one Liberian faction—the NPFL—it was agreed that ECOMOG would include soldiers from more nations. On 9 September, the Secretary-General said that ECOMOG planned to add another 4,000 troops from African countries not members of ECOWAS.

Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone

A special three-expert panel of inquiry, headed by Amos Wako, Attorney-General of Kenya, concluded that a June massacre of some 600 persons, mostly women and children, near Harbel, Liberia, had been planned and executed by units of the Armed Forces of Liberia, with no involvement of the NPFL or ECOMOG forces.

It was also reported that there were as many as 2 million refugees and displaced persons in Liberia and in the neighbouring States of Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and Sierra Leone.

Other problems include reintegrating demobilized soldiers into society. Special attention was needed for "child soldiers", ranging in age from 7 to 15.

A Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement has been established to provide additional funds for UN activities in Liberia. ■

New, wider UN Mission to monitor ongoing peace process

The Security Council, by unanimously adopting resolution 872 (1993) on 5 October, decided to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) to monitor the implementation of a peace agreement between the Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF).

The Council welcomed the signing of that agreement in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, on 4 August 1993, marking the end of a three-year civil war. The two parties were urged to implement it in good faith.

The mandate of UNAMIR, as spelled out by the Council, is to contribute to the security of the Rwandese capital city of Kigali; monitor observance of the cease-fire agreement between the two parties; and monitor the security situation during the final period of the mandate of a proposed transitional government, leading up to elections, probably in 1995.

UNAMIR is also to assist in mine clearance, resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, and coordination of humanitarian assistance. It was to investigate incidents regarding the gendarmerie and police, as well as instances of alleged non-compliance with the peace agreement relating to integration of the armed forces.

UNAMIR's mandate was originally specified for six months but, if extended, may terminate following national elections and the installation of a new government in Rwanda, both scheduled to occur by October 1995, but no later than December of that year.

Rwanda had asked for deployment of a neutral international force on 3 August.

The United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)—established by the Council on 22 June to ensure that no military assistance reached Rwanda through Uganda—was to come under the command of UNAMIR, a new, wider peace-keeping operation, the Council decided. Brigadier-General Romeo A. Dallaire of Canada was appointed UNOMUR Chief Military Observer on 2 July.

UNOMUR had begun deploying its 81 military observers on the Ugandan side of the border on 18 August, two weeks after the signing of the Arusha Agreement.

> **"Some 600,000 displaced Rwandese had returned to their homes since the peace agreement was signed"**

UNOMUR observers would remain a stabilizing factor, the Secretary-General reported (*S/26488*) on 24 September, while its chain of command and logistics would be integrated into UNAMIR.

UNAMIR would also incorporate elements of the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG II), dispatched by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). An initial OAU force had monitored the cease-fire in Rwanda from July 1992 to July 1993. In early August, it was replaced by the 132-strong NMOG II force.

Also on 24 September, the Secretary-General prescribed four phases of the peace-keeping operation.

In the first phase, essential conditions for installing a transitional government in Kigali should be created.

UNAMIR was to reach its peak strength of 2,548 military personnel in the second phase, when the process of disengagement, demobilization and integration of government and RPF forces was to begin.

Phase three would see a reduction in the Mission's force strength, and would last until the demobilization and integration process was completed. In the last phase, a further reduced UNAMIR would help ensure a secure atmosphere for the final stages of the transitional period leading up to elections.

To guarantee a successful UN role in Rwanda, the parties must cooperate fully with one another and with the UN under the Arusha Agreement, and the UN must receive adequate human and financial resources.

A reconnaissance mission had visited Rwanda from 19 to 31 August, as well as the United Republic of Tanzania—the facilitator for the peace negotiations—and the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

By March 1993, some 900,000 people—13 per cent of Rwanda's population—had been displaced. With the signing of the peace agreement, it was estimated that some 600,000 had already returned to their homes.

On 31 August, the World Food Programme (WFP) announced it had redeployed a major part of its trucking fleet in Somalia to its emergency programme in Rwanda, stating that the food security of an estimated 900,000 people remained of utmost concern.

WFP was also providing emergency food to some 1,500 Burundese refugees who had been in Rwanda since December 1991 following insecurity in Burundi. ■

UN monitors continuing conflicts

Conflict situations continued throughout several former Soviet republics, particularly in Azerbaijan and Tajikistan where, from July through September, the UN monitored and mediated peace-keeping and economic developments.

Central to these efforts were the UN interim offices, established in 1992 in seven newly independent States—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan—where the Organization previously had not had field representation. These offices were created to ensure that the UN response to those nations' special requirements was "properly coordinated from the outset", the Secretary-General stated *(A/48/146/Add.1)* on 20 July.

They also provided an opportunity to devise a "new model for United Nations representation at the country level", he said, in support of an integrated approach that would address comprehensively the political, socio-economic, environmental and humanitarian dimensions within each country. In addition, they would support the Secretary-General's endeavours for preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, the report added.

Following is an overview of some important developments from July through September 1993 *(for report on Georgia, see p. 51)*.

Armenia, Azerbaijan

Escalation in armed hostilities in and around Nagorno-Karabakh—an Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan—led the Security Council on 29 July to express its grave concern over the deteriorating situation in the area.

In unanimously adopting resolution 853 (1993), the Council demanded the immediate cessation of all hostilities and the "immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces involved from the district of Agdam and all other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijani Republic".

It condemned "all hostile actions", particularly attacks on civilians and bombardments of inhabited areas, and called on the parties concerned to reach and maintain durable cease-fire arrangements.

Endorsing the continuing efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), particularly preparations for its monitor mission, as well as the proposal for its presence in the region, the Council urged the parties to refrain from any action that would obstruct a peaceful solution to the conflict. It supported negotiations towards a final settlement, both within the CSCE Minsk Group peace process and through direct contacts.

Armenia was called upon to "continue to exert its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh region" with Council resolution 822 (1993), which called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces.

All States were urged to "refrain from the supply of any weapons and munitions which might lead to an intensification of the conflict or the continued occupation of territory".

The Council called for "unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts" to alleviate the increased suffering of the civilian population. Urgent humanitarian assistance and the return of displaced persons were asked.

UN Photo

Displaced persons, Azerbaijan.

On 22 July, the Secretary-General, concerned over reports of renewed conflict in the area, urged restraint, an end to hostilities and full support for the Minsk Group's efforts.

A stop to all attacks and an immediate cessation of hostilities, as well as a complete withdrawal of occupying forces from Fizuli, Kelbadjar, Agdam and other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijani Republic, were demanded by the Council on 18 August.

In a statement *(S/26326)* by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council also called on Armenia to "use its unique influence" to that end. Parties were urged to respond positively to the Minsk Group's 13 August timetable to implement Council resolutions 822 and 853.

Tajikistan

Stressing the urgent need for the cessation of all hostile actions on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, the Security Council on 23 August urged the Tajik Government and all opposition groups to participate in a negotiating process towards an early cease-fire and eventual national reconciliation.

In a statement *(S/26341)* by its President, the Council also drew attention to the "critical humanitarian situation" in the country and in the Tajik refugee camps in northern Afghanistan, as well as the "need for additional humanitarian assistance".

The Tajik Government was called on to continue assisting in the return and reintegration of all Tajiks who had fled the civil war and wished to return home.

Efforts by neighbouring countries and regional parties—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, the Economic Cooperation Organization, and the CSCE—to stabilize the situation were also welcomed.

The Council hailed the Secretary-General's proposal to extend the mandate of his Special Envoy, Ismat Kittani, until 31 October.

On 16 August, the Secretary-General expressed *(S/26311)* deep concern at the escalating crisis on the Tajik-Afghan border, especially due to a large-scale attack on 13 July by fighters who had crossed the border from Afghanistan and occupied a Russian military border-post in the Shurobad district, resulting in 27 deaths and many injuries.

The situation in Tajikistan contained the seeds of a "major threat to peace and security for central Asia and beyond", the Secretary-General stated. A solution could come "only through peaceful reconciliation with the widest possible participation" of all political groups and regions of the country.

The conflict, caused by a struggle for power between different Tajik clans, resulted in thousands of deaths and created more than 400,000 refugees and displaced persons. It has been fuelled by an abundance of arms: those left by Soviet forces as they evacuated from Afghanistan through the territory of Tajikistan; and by the fact that after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Tajikistan's southern border with Afghanistan—some 1,400 kilometres in length—became vulnerable to arms smuggling.

UN Photo

Special Envoy Koh

Other developments

The 9 July decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on the status of the Crimean city of Sevastopol was "without effect", the Security Council stated on 20 July. The decree had claimed the city as the main base of the single Black Sea fleet. The Council said that was incompatible with the UN Charter and with Russia's treaty commitments with Ukraine.

The Council welcomed *(S/26118)* the efforts of both countries to settle their differences by peaceful means, and urged steps to ensure avoidance of tension.

Former Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore was named as Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to lead a two-week mission, from 29 August to 9 September, to the Russian Federation, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, to focus on the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the Baltic States.

On 31 August, the Russian Federation completed the withdrawal of its armed forces from Lithuania. ■

Photo UNHCR 2302/93 A. Hollman

Deteriorating situations in former Soviet republics have disrupted normal family lives in many areas.

Revised timetable for 1992 peace accord should be used by two parties

The Security Council on 13 September strongly urged the Government of Mozambique and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) to apply, without further postponement, a revised timetable for the implementation of all provisions of the General Peace Agreement, signed in Rome on 4 October 1992 by the two parties.

The Agreement consists of a complex series of inter-linked agreements to be implemented in stages, through coordinated actions by the Government and RENAMO under UN verification. It sets out principles and modalities for achieving peace, and calls on the UN to supervise its implementation, which has been hampered by frequent delays.

The revised timetable, to culminate with the holding of national elections in October 1994, calls for voter registration from April to June 1994. The repatriation of refugees and displaced persons is to be largely completed by April 1994. The concentration of troops was to begin in September 1993, with the demobilization process to start a month later and be completed by May 1994.

In unanimously adopting resolution 863 (1993), the Council also urged the Government and RENAMO to ensure that the momentum towards fully implementing the Agreement was maintained, so that a just and lasting peace could be established.

Direct talks encouraged

Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano and RENAMO President Afonso Dhlakama were encouraged to continue their direct talks. It urged RENAMO to join the Government in authorizing immediate assembly of forces. Both parties should begin immediately the demobilization of troops, in accordance with the revised timetable and without preconditions, the Council said.

The Council also urged quick agreement on an election law, including provision for an effective national election commission. The National Commission for Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission should become operational without delay.

The Secretary-General was asked to examine expeditiously the proposal of the Government and RENAMO for UN monitoring of police activities in the country. In that connection, the Council welcomed his intention to send a survey team of experts.

> **"The long-overdue talks, which began on 21 August in Maputo, would help to build confidence"**

On 30 August, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26385)* that the most significant development since his 30 June report to the Council had been the start of long overdue direct talks between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, which had begun on 21 August in Maputo. He strongly urged the parties to turn their current dialogue into an ongoing and action-oriented process aimed at bringing the peace process to a successful outcome. The talks would have an important confidence-building impact.

The current deadlock on the composition of the future national electoral commission should be resolved. Work should continue expeditiously on an electoral law, so that elections could be held no later than October 1994.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Aldo Ajello, would follow the revised timetable for assembly and demobilization of forces and formation of the unified armed forces as closely as possible.

It was expected that 50 per cent of the soldiers would have been demobilized by January 1994, and troop demobilization should be completed by May 1994. Approximately 30,000 soldiers were to be absorbed into the new army and the rest were to return to civilian life.

Two major agreements

The Secretary-General reported *(S/26385/Add.1)* on 10 September that two major agreements had been signed between the Government and RENAMO on 3 September as a result of their meeting: one, to integrate into the state administration all areas that had been under RENAMO control; and the second, to ask the UN to monitor all police activities—public or private—and the rights and liberties of citizens, and to provide technical support to the Police Commission.

Preparations would be made to deploy 128 police observers already authorized under resolution 797 (1992) of 16 December, he added.

UN Photo 183310/M. Grant

The Security Council on 9 July asked for a fast demobilization process.

Noting that the next high-level meeting of the two parties was scheduled for early October, the Secretary-General stated that he was strongly in favour of such meetings becoming an ongoing process. He hoped that all Member States concerned would strongly encourage the parties accordingly, and that no new conditions, preconditions or postponements would be accepted.

Demobilization urged

On 9 July, the Security Council urged Mozambique and RENAMO to begin demobilization of forces without waiting for all designated assembly areas to become operational.

In unanimously adopting resolution 850 (1993), the Council further urged RENAMO to dispatch without further delay its military personnel to the military centre in Nyanga, Zimbabwe for training, together with the Government's military personnel, as the first elements of the new Mozambican Defence Force.

The Council approved the Secretary-General's recommendation that the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) should chair the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force, on the strict understanding that that would not entail any UN obligation for training or establishing the new armed forces. It encouraged RENAMO to participate fully in the Commission's work.

It stressed concern over continuing delays in the assembly and demobilization of forces, the formation of the new unified armed forces, and the finalization of election arrangements.

Positive developments included full ONUMOZ deployment in various regions of the country and establishment of a trust fund for receiving voluntary contributions.

The Secretary-General said work on the joint commissions—the Cease-fire Commission, the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, and the Commission for Reintegration—had resumed. A list of delegates to the Commissions had been prepared, including the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission.

The establishment of the National Elections Commission and the Commission of State Administration was still pending, he stated. The latter was of particular significance because RENAMO had said it would not allow members of the Mozambique Liberation Front to conduct political, social or economic activities in RENAMO-controlled territory. Moves to obstruct extension of government administration throughout the country would violate the spirit and letter of the General Peace Agreement, he warned.

There had been a massive international effort in the humanitarian field and a sharp increase in the return of refugees and displaced persons. It was projected that more than 5.5 million Mozambicans would resettle over the next two years, including some 4 million internally displaced persons, 1.5 million refugees and 370,000 demobilized soldiers and their dependents.

There should be no further delay in finalizing a new and realistic timetable for implementing the peace plan, the Secretary-General said.

On 9 August, the Secretary-General proposed *(S/26291)* that a United States contingent be added to the military elements of ONUMOZ. On 13 August, it was announced that the United States would provide six logistics (communications) officers to work in Maputo. Twenty-three other countries also participate in ONUMOZ.

Food aid

The World Food Programme (WFP) announced in Maputo on 1 September that, as the roads to Caia and Maringue in Sofala province of Mozambique had finally been opened to overland convoys, WFP had replaced two more costly airlifts in that country. Peace meant that the country's network of roads was being used again, the agency stated. Not only food aid, but also traders and peasants who were resettling, were moving along the rutted dirt roads. ■

Embargo imposed against territory not controlled by Government

An oil and arms embargo against the territory of Angola not controlled by the Government came into force at midnight on 25 September.

The Security Council, in its resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September, decided that, with a view to prohibiting the sale and supply of arms and related *matériel* to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the embargo would enter into force in 10 days unless a cease-fire had been established.

This was the first time that sanctions had been imposed by the UN against a faction opposed to a State. In 1992, the Council acted in resolution 792 (1992) against the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, but the specific wording was "moratorium", not "sanctions".

And on 24 September, the Council reiterated that unless Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported an effective cease-fire and implementation by UNITA of the 31 May 1991 Peace Accords—signed in Bicesse, Portugal, outside of Lisbon—as well as relevant Council resolutions were undertaken, the embargo would become effective.

In a statement, Council President Adolfo Raul Taylhardat of Venezuela stated that UNITA must fully respect the Accords and that the parties should make every effort to restart negotiations. Further measures would be taken if no action was forthcoming by 1 November.

The Council unanimously adopted resolution 864, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. It decided that all States should prevent the sale or supply of weapons, ammunition and military equipment, as well as petroleum products, to the territory of Angola other than through points of entry named by the Angolan Government. It was ready to consider further measures, including trade and travel restrictions, against UNITA. A committee to monitor the sanctions would be created, it stated.

The Council also extended the existing mandate of the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) for a period of three months, until 15 December 1993. It would consider expanding substantially the UN presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process.

The Council demanded that UNITA act in accordance with its statements to resume peace negotiations and cooperate in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all Angolans. UNITA's repeated attacks against UN personnel providing humanitarian assistance were condemned.

On 27 September, Angola told (*S/26515*) the Council President that, with the enforcement of mandatory sanctions, all goods whose final destination was Angola in the first stage should enter the port of Luanda.

In a 13 September report (*S/26434*), the Secretary-General warned that the grave situation in Angola had worsened further, particularly in the humanitarian domain, describing it as "catastrophic". More than 1,000 persons were dying every day from direct or indirect effects of the war, the highest fatality rate of any conflict in the world, he stated. Fierce fighting had intensified throughout the country, causing deep mutual mistrust and hindering peace efforts. So far, peace negotiations had not been resumed. "It is evident that an effective and lasting peace cannot be achieved through military force, and that this war only prolongs the suffering of the Angolan people and exacerbates the destruction of the country", the Secretary-General said.

UN Photo 183325/M. Grant

Security Council President Sir David Hannay *(right)* of the United Kingdom, conferring with Edward Walker of the United States, prior to the Council meeting on Angola on 15 July.

Intensive talks

Intensive consultations had been pursued by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye, to relaunch the peace process. He urged an increase in civilian staff from 43 to at least 59 and improved communications capabilities. There are currently about 70 military and police observers.

The Secretary-General welcomed

Embargo imposed

UN Photo 183328/M. Grant

Venancio De Moura, Foreign Minister of Angola, addressing the Council.

the international community's growing efforts in support of the search for a peaceful resolution to the Angolan conflict and urged them to continue in those efforts.

UNITA condemned

On 15 July, the Security Council, expressing its readiness to impose a mandatory arms embargo against UNITA, unanimously adopted resolution 851 (1993), condemning UNITA for continuing military actions and demanding it to end such action. UNITA's "repeated attempts to seize additional territory" and failure to withdraw were also condemned. UNITA should agree to return its troops to UN-monitored areas as a transitional measure.

Recognizing the legitimate rights of the Angolan Government, the Council welcomed the provision of assistance to that Government in support of the democratic process.

Support for the emergency humanitarian assistance plan was asked. UNAVEM II's mandate was extended until 15 September.

In a 12 July report *(S/26060)*, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali called for the earliest return of the parties to the framework of the peace settlement. All avenues should be explored to ensure safe delivery of humanitarian aid. UNITA should allow the resumption of the UN emergency assistance plan, which was suspended after UNITA denied access to the besieged government-held cities of Cuito/Bie, Malange and Menongue.

The international community, he stated, had made a major effort to help Angola to settle peacefully its civil war in the expectation that free and fair elections would provide a basis for the stability, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. The "unfortunate aftermath of the election", when one party rejected its results, had brought continued civil war and hardships, and the political and military situation had continued to deteriorate.

Refugees increase

Neighbouring countries were receiving large inflows of Angolan refugees. Repeated efforts by UNITA to seize additional territory "have called into serious question" its declarations about peaceful intentions.

Special Representative Beye visited Gabon, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia, Zaire and Zimbabwe to obtain support for resumption of the peace talks.

In a 9 July letter *(S/26064)* to the Secretary-General, Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States—official observers for the implementation of the 1991 Peace Accords—called for an immediate end to the fighting in Angola and urged UNITA to return to the peace settlement based on the Accords and relevant Council resolutions.

They said the Angolan Government had a legitimate right to self-defence, given UNITA's continued military attacks, but stressed the need for restraint because of increasing human suffering and destruction in the country. In a 13 September letter *(S/26448)* to the Council President, the three countries demanded the immediate release of all foreigners held captive by UNITA.

Major-General Chris Abutu Garuba of Nigeria became Chief Military Observer of UNAVEM II on 9 July.

A UN official on 30 September said that humanitarian assistance was being delivered to 7 of 13 Angolan cities previously cut off from relief. ■

Five-point peace plan

On 25 September, the Angolan Government presented *(S/26516)* a five-point peace plan. The Government considered that "the foundation for the resolution of the post-electoral crisis unleashed by UNITA" should be based on the following principles:

1. Withdrawal of UNITA military forces from territories illegally occupied after the September 1992 elections, followed by a cease-fire under relevant Council resolutions.

2. Unimpeded access for humanitarian aid and immediate evacuation after the cease-fire of the wounded, ill, and foreigners.

3. Complete and unequivocal acceptance of the validity of the 1991 Bicesse Peace Accords and the election results.

4. Respect for the "legislation produced by the instruments of sovereignty instituted as a result of the elections".

5. The Government reiterated its willingness to resume negotiations once conditions for those negotiations had been established.

On 1 September, Angola drew attention *(S/26410)* to a letter from UNITA indicating it would be inclined to accept an unconditional cease-fire. Previously, Angola said, UNITA had taken similar positions in order to ease international pressures against it.

Full compliance asked: 'Less distance between two sides'

Efforts to bring Iraq into full compliance with its obligations under relevant UN Security Council resolutions continued, with meetings by Rolf Ekeus, Executive Chairman of the UN Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament, with high-level officials in Baghdad, ending "on a positive note" in July.

A "frank, serious and comprehensive" exchange of views was held during the meetings (15-19 July), designed to "defuse the crisis that loomed around" Iraq's refusal to accept Council resolution 715 (1991), which provided monitoring to ensure Iraq's non-acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. Some "common understandings" had been reached for further discussions, Mr. Ekeus stated in a 20 July letter *(S/26127)*.

In addition, Iraq agreed to permit the installation of monitoring cameras at two rocket test sites. On 23 September, the Special Commission was informed that it would no longer be prevented from activating those cameras.

High-level technical talks on how to achieve Iraq's compliance with the ban on certain weapons under Council resolution 687 (1991) were held in New York from 31 August to 9 September.

Their overall outcome was reported as "relatively positive". Mr. Ekeus said on 13 September that Iraq was "talking seriously" about its obligations, and there was "less distance now between the two sides" than before the talks started.

Encouraging news that there had been "no allegations of violations" since 7 June was reported on 12 September by the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait *(S/26430)*.

Sanctions against Iraq were maintained, after the Council on 20 September pronounced that there was "no agreement" that the necessary conditions existed for their modification. The Council reviews the sanctions every 60 days.

Talks on Iraqi oil sales, provided for in Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), were suspended on 15 July. By 1 September, about $195 million were deposited in the UN escrow account established under resolution 706 to cover the costs of the Special Commission, the Compensation Fund, the Boundary Commission, the return of all Kuwaiti property, and the humanitarian activities in Iraq.

The mandate of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) was extended for another six months, until 31 March 1994.

New York talks

The New York discussions between the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), on the one hand, and Iraq, on the other, proceeded in plenary session and five specialized group meetings on nuclear, chemical, biological, missile and operational issues.

Iraq insisted that ongoing monitoring should be carried out in a "non-intrusive manner", particularly in the context of its "security, sovereignty and independence". Executive Chairman Ekeus reported *(S/26451)* on 10 September.

The Commission suggested implementation in three stages: establishment of a monitoring and verification baseline, constructed primarily upon Iraq's declarations; inspection visits carried out as "non-intrusive and cooperative monitoring activities" for the purpose of building confidence; and possible reduction of sites to be monitored.

Mr. Ekeus believed that under the "best possible circumstances", the first baseline inspections could begin "shortly after 1 December 1993", with the second stage to be "phased in as soon as the first baseline inspections were concluded".

Sites to be inspected by the IAEA nuclear team were grouped into four categories: those with a previous nuclear or nuclear-related mission; sites that had provided support to the previous nuclear programme; those having capabilities useful to a reconstituted nuclear programme; and sites that might be designated for inspection as a result of new information.

Technical means, such as environmental samples—water, air, vegetation, smears—gamma detectors and surveillance cameras, were to be used in all types of inspections.

In order to verify that Iraq had fully complied with section C of Council resolution 687, the Special Commission and IAEA would, among other things, "need to be satisfied that Iraq had provided all necessary information" on outstanding issues that would constitute a "full, final and complete disclosure" of all programmes to develop prohibited weapons, Mr. Ekeus said.

The New York talks, he noted, had provided the opportunity to "define with greater precision" what information the Special Commission and IAEA needed in respect of the programmes concerned.

Objectives met

Inspection "objectives were met", IAEA stated in a 20 August consolidated report *(S/26333)* on the results of its twentieth (25-30 June) and twenty-first (24-27 July) on-site nuclear inspections in Iraq. All in all, 21 sites had been checked.

Among other things, the teams reported that:

- Civil engineering preparations for the removal of irradiated fuel were "well under way";

• None of the plants at the industrial complex south of Taji had a "uniquely nuclear function", but several produced dual-use materials, which necessitated future monitoring;
• Construction of new non-nuclear facilities at four former nuclear sites—Al Jazira, Al Sharqat, Al Tarmiya and Al Furat—bore "no relationship to the former nuclear work", and nuclear-related capabilities at those sites had been destroyed;
• Preparations for installing surveillance cameras at machining facilities continued.

The Special Commission's Chemical Destruction Group on 24 August destroyed the first batch of tabun—Iraq's last remaining nerve agent—at the Muthanna State Establishment.

Destruction of the nerve agent precursor chemical N'N-dimethyldichlorophosphoric acid (D4) was completed by the Group on 18 August. The remainder of the precursor chemical thiodiethyleneglycol (thiodiglycol)—almost 154,000 litres—was destroyed the following day. On 20 August, destruction of mustard agent resumed after a period of repair and maintenance to the incenerator in which the agent is burnt.

Between June 1992 and August 1993, the Group destroyed more than 19,000 chemical munitions—bombs, rockets, missile warheads and artillery shells—more than 91,000 litres of mustard agent, nearly 61,700 litres of nerve agents, and over 1,225,000 litres of precursor chemicals.

On 2 August, inspectors from the Special Commission observed Iraq's first missile test at the Al Rafah site since the dispute over the installation of monitoring cameras. The test stand set-up was photographed prior to the firing of the rocket, and the inspectors received information on the test's purpose and reviewed the test data. ■

WESTERN SAHARA

Direct talks marked by 'mutual respect'

In a bid to facilitate implementation of the settlement plan for self-determination of Western Sahara, direct talks between the delegations of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) were held in Laayoune in Western Sahara from 17 to 19 July.

The plan, approved by the Security Council on 27 June 1990 in resolution 658 (1990), calls for organization and supervision of a referendum by the UN, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, in which voters would choose either independence or integration with Morocco.

The UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was established by the Council on 29 April 1991. The plan called for the referendum to be held in January 1992, but a firm date has not yet been agreed upon.

The UN observer at the July 1993 talks was Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan, the Secretary-General's Special Representative. On 28 July, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/26185)* that while it would have been unrealistic to expect a major breakthrough on substantial issues, which was not the primary aim of the talks, it was an encouraging sign that an exploratory dialogue had been held in a positive spirit, marked by restraint and mutual respect. Neither party had excluded the possibility of resuming talks, which he hoped would be soon, for wider discussions on issues of mutual concern.

Unveiling a plaque on 6 September, on the occasion of the second anniversary of MINURSO.

The talks followed a visit by Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali to Morocco and Algeria from 31 May to 4 June that had resulted in substantially narrowing differences between the parties regarding the criteria for registration in the referendum.

Also in his report, the Secretary-General observed that intensification of efforts to overcome existing difficulties had contributed to the holding of direct talks between the parties which, if sustained, would hopefully facilitate implementation of the settlement plan. Progress towards the registration of voters, which had gathered momentum, was cited as another concrete step. ■

Iraq-Kuwait border drawn by UN Commission

UN Photo 183038/M. Grant

Boundary Demarcation Commission Chairman Nicolas Valticos *(second from right)* handing the demarcation coordinates to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 20 May. Under-Secretary-General Carl-August Fleischhauer is at *left* and Commission Secretary Miklos Pinther at *right*.

Stretching across 240 kilometres of windswept desert plain, a series of 106 pillars stand like tombstones dividing the territories of Iraq and Kuwait. The recently erected markers are the result of two years of work by the UN Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission.

"It was such a unique undertaking", said Miklos Pinther, Chief Cartographer for the UN, who served as Secretary of the Commission. "Everyone understood that they were making history."

The five-member Commission was established under Security Council resolution 687 (1991), which sets the terms of the cease-fire for the Persian Gulf war.

In May 1991, the body began its painstaking work, summarized in its final report *(S/25811)*. The Commission then met in September 1993 to certify three sets of technical documentation, including maps and reports from the survey team. Both countries received a set of documents, and another set was deposited in UN archives.

Although it was the first time that the UN was called on to demarcate an international boundary, it is unlikely to be the last. Similar requests might be in the offing from newly-formed nations in Eastern Europe, said Mr. Pinther.

"The Commission eventually completed its task much faster than you would normally do a job like this—and below our estimated budget", he said, adding that the boundary demarcation was paid for by Iraq and Kuwait.

In conducting negotiations between the two countries, the Commission had to overcome several hurdles. And, Mr. Pinther added, the field work was extremely demanding.

"The initial problem was the enormous amount of unexploded materials in the area—things like mines, grenades and leftover stuff from the war", he said. "They were scattered all over the place. The wind would blow them and the sand would cover them."

In order to clear the mines, a team of Canadian engineers accompanied the survey team. The UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) also assisted the Boundary Commission by providing a camp site and transportation.

"The logistics of moving pillars through the area were horrendous", recalled Mr. Pinther. "In many places, ground conditions were very poor. Cranes would get stuck in the sand."

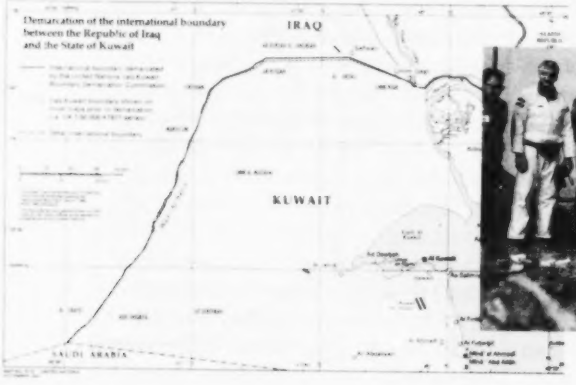
Another problem was insufficient documentation for the boundary. "Geographic coordinates were not established for the boundary. That task was left for the Demarcation Commission", Mr. Pinther said. The Commission had to depend on letters between the two Governments, which only broadly described the border dividing the countries.

These communications had taken place between Iraq and Kuwait in 1932, when Iraq joined the League of Nations.

The survey team used first-rate equipment including the Global Position System (GPS) receivers to establish positions and distances by reading signals from satellites.

"This was the first international boundary measured with this GPS surveying system", Mr. Pinther said. "It allowed us to reduce the use of conventional systems, and it is much more accurate." Unaffected by heat and other atmospheric and ground conditions, the GPS survey network came within a centimetre of accuracy.

Survey team members, on the other hand, did notice the heat. "You almost think you're going to burn up", said Mr. Pinther. "Still, throughout the whole process, there was a kind of uplifting spirit among everyone. You don't often get a chance to do things like this. We all thought it was pretty historic." ■


Demarcation of the international boundary between the Republic of Iraq and the State of Kuwait
IRAQ
KUWAIT
SAUDI ARABIA

A concrete sentinel marks the new border.

Secretary-General warns of need for alternatives

The Security Council may have to consider alternative ways to promote effective implementation of its many resolutions on Cyprus if current efforts do not succeed, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has warned.

In a 14 September report *(S/26438)*, he said that the Turkish Cypriot side had not yet shown the goodwill and cooperation needed to achieve agreement on a package of confidence-building measures related to the reopening of Nicosia International Airport and of the fenced area of Varosha under UN administration.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali also proposed sending a team of experts to Cyprus in early October to address questions about the effects of the package, including measures relating to economic imbalance between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. A team of civil aviation experts was also to be dispatched to assess technical requirements for reopening Nicosia International Airport.

The Council on 20 September expressed *(S/26475)* its continuing support for the efforts of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices in Cyprus, and those of his Special Representative Joe Clark and Deputy Special Representative Gustave Feissel, and fully endorsed observations made on the current situation.

The Council reiterated the obligation of both parties to cooperate fully and without delay in reaching promptly an overall framework agreement on the package and, in the first instance, to arrive at an agreement on the proposals related to Varosha and the airport, which would "create a climate more conducive to engaging in negotiations on the basis of the set of ideas" put forward by the Secretary-General and endorsed by the Council in resolution 774 (1992) of 26 August 1992.

The Council also expressed deep disappointment that an agreement on the package had not yet been reached, and agreed that the Secretary-General could not continue his current efforts indefinitely.

The Turkish Cypriot side was called upon to give its active support and the Council recognized the important role that Turkey could play in that effort.

The Council agreed that it was encouraging that there was widespread interest in the package among the Turkish Cypriot community, and it supported sending two technical teams to Cyprus.

> **"Confidence-building measures would have dramatic impact on overcoming mistrust"**

The Security Council, in a 7 July letter *(S/26050)* to the Secretary-General, expressed its full support for his current efforts in Cyprus. The package of confidence-building measures would benefit both communities and would have a dramatic impact on overcoming the existing mistrust and in facilitating an overall settlement.

The Council was disappointed that Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash had not yet adhered to the 1 June agreement to promote the acceptance of the package and had failed to return to New York so that the joint meetings could be resumed.

The Secretary-General said *(S/26026)* on 1 July that the intensive effort undertaken with both leaders since mid-May had created a major opportunity to make significant progress, which would move the Cyprus problem substantially closer to an overall solution. All concerned had a special responsibility to bring that effort to a positive conclusion.

The package, for the Turkish Cypriot side, would mean removing economic obstacles, especially as regards overseas travel and trade, and the development of a significant tourist industry. For the Greek Cypriots, it would open the way for property owners in the fenced area of Varosha to reclaim possession of and start using their property.

The package would also open avenues of contact between the two communities and lay the foundation for the kind of relationship that should exist in a federation.

Violent demonstration

On 25 July, a violent demonstration had been mounted at a number of locations by some 250 persons, most on motorcycles, and several forcibly entered the UN-controlled buffer zone from the south. A spokesman for the UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) said that all concerned should ensure that the zone's integrity was fully respected.

On 14 September, the General Assembly appropriated some $8.7 million for UNFICYP's operation for the period from 16 June to 15 December 1993, to be apportioned among Member States.

Effective 16 June, the Assembly had decided that UNFICYP's costs not covered by voluntary contributions would be treated as expenses of the Organization, to be borne by Member States, in compliance with Council resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May. Prior to 15 June, UNFICYP had been funded entirely from voluntary contributions. ■

Conference goal: Comprehensive test ban

In what was called a "major turning-point" in multilateral efforts towards totally prohibiting nuclear testing, the Conference on Disarmament on 10 August decided to begin negotiating a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty.

Expressing hope for an early conclusion of a new multilateral agreement, Conference President José Perez Novoa of Cuba said the accord should be "internationally verifiable" and could count on "universal adherence".

That would contribute effectively to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, to the process of nuclear disarmament, and thus to the enhancement of international peace and security, the Conference agreed *(CD/1212)*.

To achieve that goal, such a treaty must be "multilaterally negotiated"; it was stressed. "As the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of the international community", the Conference felt it was the appropriate body to do the job.

The Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear-Test Ban—initially established in 1982 to discuss and define issues of verification and compliance relating to a comprehensive test-ban treaty—was given a mandate by the Conference to negotiate such an instrument. Consultations were to be held before the Conference's next session, scheduled to begin on 17 January 1994.

Three-part session

The 1993 session of the Conference, which took place in Geneva, was held in three parts—19 January to 26 March, 10 May to 25 June, and 26 July to 3 September.

Three more ad hoc committees dealt with prevention of an arms race in outer space, effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, and transparency in armaments.

Other agenda items included: cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prevention of nuclear war; new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; radiological weapons; and a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

The 38-member Conference consists of five nuclear-weapon States—China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—other militarily significant States, and neutral and non-aligned countries which form the "Group of 21".

During the session, members recognized the urgency of expanding the Conference and recommended that its membership be granted to 23 more States: Austria, Bangladesh, Belarus, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Finland, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Norway, Republic of Korea, Senegal, Slovak Republic, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe. However, no consensus was reached on that issue.

A 'new momentum'

Many delegations said that the Conference had been held in an "atmosphere of heightened anticipation for a new momentum" at the multilateral level towards a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. That was due to the moratoria on nuclear testing declared by the Russian Federation in October 1991, France in April 1992, and the United States in October 1992, as well as the fact that the United Kingdom and China had not conducted tests since November 1991 and September 1992, respectively. ■

Partial test-ban treaty: A 'historic milestone'

Although the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water—widely known as the partial or limited test-ban treaty—had left "much room for improvement" in not banning underground nuclear test explosions, none the less it was still a "historic milestone" in nuclear arms control and disarmament, being the "first agreement between the rival nuclear Powers". So stated Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia, President of the Amendment Conference of States Parties to the Treaty, on 5 August on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of its signing.

"Today, more than ever before, there is hope that the Treaty's promise of a total test ban will be finally fulfilled", he stressed. For the first time since the Treaty was signed, "silence reigns at the nuclear weapon test sites".

The urgency of achieving a comprehensive test ban, as well as the "need for an expeditious means to realize this objective", was also emphasized by a special meeting of the States Parties to the Partial Test-Ban Treaty on 10 August in New York.

While recognizing that consideration of a comprehensive ban had been "under way on three tracks"—in the Conference on Disarmament, the Amendment Conference, and in consultations among the nuclear Powers—the meeting achieved a "general consensus" that all work in the different forums should be "mutually supportive and mutually complementary".

Non-proliferation integral to development, IAEA told

Non-proliferation and disarmament are "integral to development and progress, and central to international peace", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a message to the thirty-seventh session (27 September-1 October, Vienna) of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

With the end of the cold war, a "new level of cooperation" was now possible, he noted. But "new threats and new challenges" had also arisen, as international concern had "turned anxiously" towards ensuring the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

At a time when substantial disarmament was finally beginning to occur, there could be "no justification for any State, anywhere, to acquire the tools and technologies of mass destruction", the message said.

The international community must remain steadfast in insisting on compliance with the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Iraq's "secret and extensive efforts" to develop nuclear weapons must serve as both a "warning against complacency" and an indication of the world community's resolve to ensure compliance, he said.

The threat on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) to withdraw from the NPT and its refusal to comply with its obligations provided "further warning", the Secretary-General indicated. Failure to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons would have far-reaching consequences, potentially "setting off a chain reaction" in their proliferation, he said. All that demonstrated that the NPT—especially its verification and safeguards arrangements—should be strengthened.

Three "unfinished items" remained "high on the international security agenda", the Secretary-General stated. First, the NPT must be extended "indefinitely and unconditionally" at the 1995 review conference.

Second, the de facto moratoria on nuclear testing by nuclear-weapon States must be maintained and a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty concluded at an early date.

Third, with the momentum gained from reductions in nuclear arsenals, the world community must work towards "a complete cut-off" in the production of fissile material for weapons purposes.

In addition to traditional concerns over disarmament and non-proliferation, increased attention must be given to other aspects of the Agency's mandate, including ensuring the safe storage and disposal of fissile materials, especially those recovered from dismantled warheads; enhancing the safety of nuclear power plants, particularly of Soviet-designed reactors; and addressing the consequences of past nuclear practices.

The Secretary-General hoped that the international safety convention, under consideration by the IAEA and circulated among Member States, would soon be adopted and would serve as the "basic international frame of reference for safety and review procedures of nuclear plants".

In addition to a text on the DPRK (*see below*), the week-long General Conference adopted resolutions on: denuclearization of Africa; nuclear inspections in Iraq; safeguards in the Middle East; strengthening of IAEA safeguards system and its main activities; nuclear safety; radioactive waste management; practical utilization of food irradiation in developing countries; and a plan for producing potable water economically.

IAEA Director-General Hans Blix of Sweden was re-appointed for a fourth consecutive four-year term.

DPRK urged to cooperate

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has been urged by the IAEA to "cooperate immediately" to allow the Agency to verify its declared nuclear activities.

The General Conference also strongly endorsed IAEA action to implement the safeguards agreement with the DPRK concluded under the NPT and in force since April 1992.

The Conference also expressed "grave concern" over DPRK's failure to "discharge its safeguards obligations" and that it had "recently widened the area of non-compliance by not accepting scheduled Agency ad hoc and routine inspections", as required by its agreement.

On 16 September, IAEA Director-General Hans Blix had reported *(S/26456)* that "inconsistencies" remained between the DPRK's initial report on its nuclear material subject to safeguards and the Agency's findings. The IAEA could not verify the correctness and assess the completeness of that report.

Also, no access had been obtained to additional information or locations which might "help to resolve these inconsistencies", the report stressed.

The IAEA said it had "not been enabled" to carry out its routine inspections since 30 March, and its recent inspection—from 3 to 10 August—had been "limited to containment, surveillance and maintenance activities" in some facilities at the Nyongbyon site.

Indigenous peoples forum within UN suggested

The creation of a permanent forum within the UN system to better protect the intellectual and cultural heritage of indigenous peoples has been suggested by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

That decision was among the 57 texts adopted by the 26-member body at its forty-fifth session (Geneva, 2-27 August). Four texts specifically concerned the rights of indigenous

populations, whose plight was being highlighted by the observation in 1993 of the International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples.

The Subcommission, the main subsidiary of the Commission on Human Rights, continued work on a draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. It also endorsed the proposed proclamation by the General Assembly of an International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples, beginning January 1994, and recommended the holding of a seminar on indigenous land rights and claims.

Appreciation was expressed for the Special Rapporteur's study on the protection of the cultural and intellectual property of indigenous peoples. A second progress report was asked on the study on treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous populations.

Slavery, social rights

On contemporary forms of slavery, the Subcommission asked for an updated report on child labour and expressed grave concern at the persistence and development of sex tourism. A Special Rapporteur was asked to make an in-depth study of the situation of systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practices during wartime, taking account, among other things, of the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia.

In the field of economic, social and cultural rights, the Subcommission encouraged Governments to pursue effective policies aimed at full realization of the right to adequate housing, take measures designed to close existing gaps in the distribution of income and eliminate the practice of forced evictions.

It also noted a report that found that population transfer was unlawful and violated a number of human rights, and approved a Special Rapporteur's proposal to hold a seminar on the topic of "Extreme poverty and denial of human rights".

The Subcommission appealed to all States to take measures to promote the Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, especially in areas of armed conflict.

Country considerations

The situation in the former Yugoslavia was the subject of two texts on human rights violations in specific countries.

Regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Subcommission appealed to the international community to reject any permanent partition of the country which resulted from aggression, intervention and massive violations of human rights and, in particular, from the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing". On the situation in Kosovo, the Subcommission vigorously condemned human rights violations of ethnic Albanians committed by

UN consults with Arctic peoples

A meeting between the UN and representatives of Arctic and Siberian indigenous peoples was held from 6 to 10 September in Khabarovsk, in the Siberian region of the Russian Federation.

The Arctic/Siberian Indigenous Consultation with the UN system discussed such issues as land, natural resources, environment and development, and health and culture. It marked the first time that members of the UN system travelled to a remote part of the world to consult officially with indigenous communities.

The consultation was organized by the Centre for Human Rights, within the framework of the celebration this year of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People.

authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Individuals involved in the "unspeakable crimes" of genocide committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina or elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, or in other parts of the world, should be brought to justice and be tried by an international tribunal or a competent tribunal in the State where the act was committed, the Subcommission said.

Governments were asked to take measures to enhance efforts to prevent and combat terrorism.

The Subcommission condemned human rights violations in Chad, Iran, Iraq and by terrorist groups in Peru. Also condemned were perpetrators of violence in South Africa, and Israeli policies in the Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories.

The Subcommission also: noted with satisfaction the lifting of restrictions on the activities in East Timor of the International Committee of the Red Cross; expressed satisfaction with the end of the armed conflict in El Salvador; supported measures adopted to strengthen democratic institutions and human rights in Guatemala; encouraged continuing efforts at mediation in Haiti; and called on Myanmar to ensure respect for human rights.

Other concerns

The Subcommission appealed to all States to take steps to combat discrimination and prejudice against people with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

The Subcommission considered that traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation, preference of male children, and nutritional taboos, represented a gross violation of human rights.

Host countries were requested to ensure the human rights and dignity of migrant workers and to provide them and their families protection against violence and intimidation.

Studies were requested on the right to a fair trial and the privatization of prisons. A proposal to organize a meeting of experts on the human rights of detained juveniles was welcomed. Governments were invited to limit the introduction of states of emergency, particularly in the case of internal unrest.

The Subcommission called upon Governments to strengthen the independence of judges, lawyers and court officers as a fundamental step to protect human rights. It was recommended that the Commission on Human Rights appoint a Special Rapporteur to follow up on the issue, as well as investigate the nature of the problems which could affect the independence and impartiality of the judiciary.

The right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be addressed more consistently and more globally, the Subcommission stressed.

Reports were requested on human rights and the environment, the question of the impunity of perpetrators of human rights violation, human rights of disabled persons, government violations of human rights, and implications of humanitarian activities for human rights. ■

Two human rights bodies meet

Meeting for the 48th time (12-30 July, Geneva) since its establishment in 1976, the Human Rights Committee continued its review of the implementation of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The Committee's 18 experts—elected by States parties, but serving in their personal capacity—examined reports containing observations regarding the promotion and protection of civil and political rights in Bulgaria, Egypt, Hungary, Iran and Ireland.

It adopted a revised General Comment on Covenant article 18—dealing with the right to freedom of thought, conscience and belief—and a number of decisions under the Optional Protocol to the Covenant, providing a mechanism by which individuals can complain to the UN about violations of civil and political rights.

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination at its forty-third session (2-20 August, Geneva) considered, among other issues: the implementation of the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the outcome of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna; and the ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

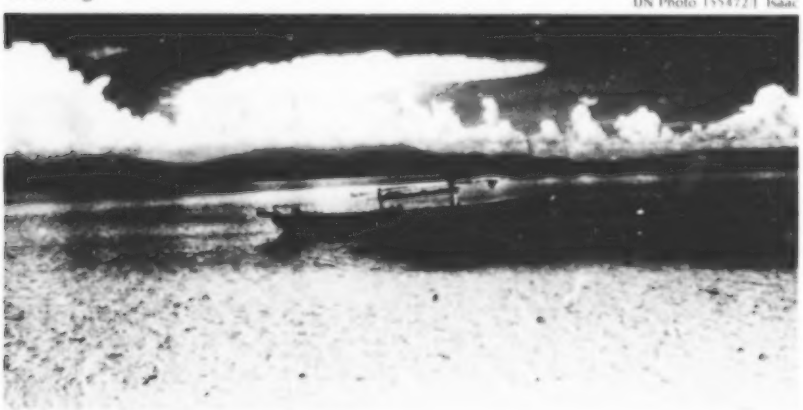
The 18-member Committee also reviewed reports from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). It expressed concern over the realization of "hegemonic projects of creating a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia by means of violence, terror and genocide".

It was alarmed over the deteriorating situations in the regions of Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandjak, and the practice of torture and other human rights abuses by Croatian paramilitary forces.

Preparatory Committee tackles problems of small island States

World Conference to begin in April 1994

A palm-fringed tropical island may be a tourist's idea of a trouble-free paradise, but those who live in small island developing States—known as SIDS—face some unique problems, from remoteness from world markets to possible inundation due to global warming.



UN Photo 155472/I Isaac

Those and other concerns were discussed by the Preparatory Committee for the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, at its first session (New York, 30 August-10 September). The global meeting, to be held in Barbados from 25 April to 6 May 1994, is an offspring of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 1992.

Wide divergence

There was a wide divergence of views on the outstanding work of the Committee, Chairman Penelope Anne Wensley of Australia reported. It considered, but did not approve, a draft for a programme of action for the sustainable development of SIDS.

Ms. Wensley said the Committee would work to provide a model for actions to be implemented at the regional, national, and international levels.

The problems and vulnerabilities of small island States should be addressed within the context of broader international efforts to achieve sustainable development, she said.

Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, said that the Conference would likely be among the first follow-up efforts to the "Earth Summit" to reach fruition. As such, it would represent the first full-fledged test of the international community's commitment to implement "Agenda 21", the blueprint of action adopted by UNCED.

In a 12 August report (*A/CONF.167/PC/10*), the Secretary-General said some SIDS were considered high-income countries, while others were classified as least developed. Still, many or most faced similar problems, including lack of economic diversity, vulnerability to natural disasters and fragile ecosystems.

Many SIDS depend on a single industry, often tourism, making them particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in world markets. Many are also located outside of major transportation routes, resulting in high-unit costs for passengers and freight.

In addition, there are island States prone to frequent natural disasters, as they are in the path of tropical cyclones and hurricanes. Some are situated along geological fault lines where earthquakes and volcanic eruptions occur.

The prospect of "global warming" worries low-lying island States, as they would be most affected by sea-level rise due to higher temperatures and melting glaciers.

The islands' ecosystems tend to be especially fragile, having evolved in isolation which give rise to rare endemic species that fall easy prey to epidemics, and plants and animals introduced from elsewhere.

Action programme outlined

The basic elements for an action programme for the sustainable development of SIDS were outlined in a position paper (*A/CONF.167/PC/L.5*) submitted by China and the "Group of 77" developing countries.

That paper, identifying 15 programme elements, addressed: climate change and sea-level rise; natural and environmental disasters; waste management; coastal and marine resources; tourism; biodiversity; transport; and communication.

Suggestions for effective implementation included: increased regional cooperation; trade liberalization to improve market access for exports; transfer of environmentally sound technologies; support for training in environmental law; and development of a "vulnerability index", to integrate ecological fragility and economic vulnerability. ■

Growing fleets, dwindling stocks: UN conference debates high seas fishing

The high seas—property of everyone and no-one—have traditionally been an area of free-for-all exploitation, with many fish species now either depleted or over-fished.

That problem was the subject of the first UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks (New York, 12-30 July), which was mandated by the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro.

The Conference succeeded in satisfying the first component of its mandate, which is to identify and assess existing problems, Conference Chairman Satya N. Nandan of Fiji said. Its remaining tasks are to consider means of improving fisheries cooperation among States and to formulate appropriate recommendations.

The Conference will meet twice more in 1994 (14 March-1 April and 15-26 August) with a view to completing its work before the forty-ninth General Assembly session convenes. Delegations differ as to whether the Conference should ultimately produce a new multilateral fishing convention or a non-binding set of guidelines.

The Conference uses as a basis for its work the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which has provisions on conservation and sustainable use of marine living resources of the high seas.

With the advent of the 200-nautical-mile exclusive economic zones (EEZs) permitted under the Law of the Sea Convention, the pressure on fish stocks in the high seas has grown. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO), inadequate management and over-fishing are now major high-seas problems.

Over-fishing on the high seas not only affects such fish as many tuna species which prefer the open ocean, but also in the case of stocks that usually remain in coastal waters and only occasionally swim outside the EEZs. Examples of these so-called "straddling stocks" include Atlantic cod and Alaskan pollack.

Unsustainable use

Chairman Nandan, in outlining the main concern of the Conference, said that the global capacity of fishing fleets had grown over the last two decades to twice that of total marine fish catches, resulting in non-sustainable resource use.

"No region of the world is immune to the impact of uncontrolled fishing and its inevitable results", he said.

Building on discussions and proposals by delegations, he produced a negotiating text *(A/CONF.164/13)* which contains formulations of actions and measures to be taken by States.

The text states that conservation and management measures should aim at maintaining or restoring stocks at levels capable of producing "maximum sustainable yield", a concept which is to be reviewed in depth by specialists at the next session of the Conference.

Such measures would include total allowable catches and quotas, limits to fishing effort, area and seasonal closures, and gear restrictions such as minimum mesh sizes.

The text calls for coastal and distant water-fishing States to cooperate through regional fisheries management organizations, which should be open to participation on a non-discriminatory basis to all States with an interest in the fish stocks concerned. It further urges that the coastal States regulating fisheries in their EEZ and regional organizations establishing measures for the same stocks should achieve compatible and coherent measures.

The problems faced by coastal States were cited in debate by Canada, where species such as cod, flounder and redfish straddle the 200-mile limit of Canada's EEZ off Newfoundland. Over-fishing by other nations outside that limit, combined with adverse ecological conditions, have caused a virtual collapse of the major straddling stocks in the north-west Atlantic Ocean over the past five years, resulting in over 30,000 people losing their livelihood, Canada said.

Sierra Leone said that fisheries management of a 200-mile jurisdictional zone was burdensome for least developed countries. In its region, effective monitoring, control and surveillance systems could hardly be maintained in the face of the "rapacious advance" of certain distant water fishing nations.

Over-fishing: The 'doughnut hole'

The problem of over-fishing in the high seas is illustrated by the problems of one area known as the "doughnut hole", a Bering Sea enclave where fisheries of Alaskan pollack have "collapsed", according to a joint statement *(A/CONF.164/L.33)* issued by the United States and the Russian Federation on 28 July. It is an enclave where all fishing vessels may cast their nets or lines outside of national jurisdictions.

According to the two countries, fishing in the "doughnut hole" began in the mid-1980s, expanding quickly to a peak of 1.4 million tons in 1989. By 1992, when pollack fishing was suspended, harvests were only about 10,000 tons. ■

Keeping the Promise: 'Tangible progress' reported on Children's Summit goals

A special high-level round table on "Keeping the Promise to Children", marking the third anniversary of the historic World Summit for Children, was convened by the UN Secretary-General in New York on 30 September.

Attended by eight Heads of State or Government, 14 Foreign Ministers and Special Envoys and other dignitaries, participants discussed how to improve the lot of the world's children by turning the Summit's promises into action.

At the Summit, more than 70 Heads of State or Government and 88 high-level delegations from 158 countries adopted a set of goals for children for the 1990s, contained in the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children, and in the accompanying Plan of Action to implement the World Declaration.

Some regional summits had identified mid-decade goals which, if implemented, could save the lives of an additional 2 million children a year by 1996. James P. Grant, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), told the seminar, "If successful, our sprint towards the mid-decade goals would do more for the well-being of children, in a shorter period of time and at lower cost, than any other undertaking in history."

"If the problems of mothers and children are not addressed, social development cannot be achieved", said Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh, Co-chairman of the round table.

Co-chairman Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, President of Nicaragua, said that the mid-decade goals could be achieved by 1995, including elimination of neo-natal tetanus and of poliomyelitis in selected regions, virtual elimination of vitamin A deficiency, universal iodization of salt, 80 per cent use of oral rehydration therapy, and making all hospitals "baby-friendly".

President Chamorro, while presenting a summary of round table discussions, underscored the importance of a funding strategy for implementing the Summit goals known as "20/20 vision": developing countries redirect at least 20 per cent of their budgets to children's basic needs, while industrialized countries earmark 20 per cent of their development assistance for the same purpose.

A 2 September report *(A/48/321)* of the UN Secretary-General indicated that real, tangible progress was being made for children.

An impressive gain had been made in developing concrete plans to improve the status of children, the report stated. Keeping the Summit's promises had been made easier by two concrete instruments: the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child, and the national programmes of action (NPAs), which the Convention's 151 signatories committed themselves to prepare.

The developing world was making more progress towards achieving the welfare of its people than was generally recognized, according to a 22 September report by UNICEF.

Entitled "Progress of Nations", it is the first of a projected series of annual reports ranking nations according to their achievements for children in health, nutrition and education, as well as their progress in the field of family planning and women's development.

In little more than one generation, average real incomes had doubled, child death rates had been halved, malnutrition rates had been reduced by about 30 per cent and life expectancy had increased by about a third, the report stated. Still, "less than an all-out effort" was being made to combat such scourges as malnutrition, disease and illiteracy. ■

'Mother-friendly' firms honoured

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) honoured 16 United States companies on 5 August for making their workplaces hospitable to mothers who choose to breast-feed their babies after returning to work.

The businesses were selected for providing such support as on-site infant care and breast-feeding breaks. UNICEF reported that businesses which did not support mothers suffered increased absenteeism. The ceremony coincided with World Breast-feeding Week (1-7 August), which was established to promote the "most healthful form of infant nutrition".

Towards a 'general international organization'

by Harold Fruchtbaum

AP/Wide World Photos

Signing of the Moscow Declaration, 30 October 1943.

As the windy afternoon of 1 November 1993 swirled into night, the General Assembly convened in a special plenary session to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security, adopted in Moscow on 30 October 1943.

The Permanent Representatives of the Russian Federation, the United States, the United Kingdom and China came in turn to the podium of the Assembly Hall and spoke briefly about the importance of the 1943 Moscow Declaration as a major step towards the founding of the UN. They remembered the difficult past and spoke of the challenges facing the Organization.

For nearly two weeks—from the middle of October into early November 1943—the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR had met in Moscow to promote further cooperation between their Governments to bring the Second World War to an end and to plan for a future peace. The draft of what became the "Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security" had been brought from Washington by United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

The Moscow Declaration was significant for several reasons. It recognized, among other things, China's role in both waging the war and making the desired peace. By the Declaration, the four Governments publicly committed themselves to continue the fight against Germany, Italy and Japan until the Axis Powers "laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender".

Looking to the future, the four nations declared "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security".

Preparing for peace

Behind the commitment to create an organization for "the maintenance of international peace and security" lay four years of intense research, analysis and planning. In September 1939, only days after the outbreak of war in Europe, the United States Department of State began the process of developing policies for dealing with future problems of peace and reconstruction. It established a committee for that purpose shortly before 1939 ended, but the day-to-day demands of wartime foreign affairs slowed that work.

Independent but parallel efforts were also under way in Australia and the United Kingdom. In September 1941, the Government in Canberra made available to Washington a paper on post-war reconstruction planning and asked for comparable studies. The seriousness of the British effort would become apparent at meetings between Great Britain's Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill and United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, from 9 to 12 August 1941, aboard the American cruiser Augusta and H.M.S. Prince of Wales.

The Atlantic Charter

One outcome of the first meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt was a joint declaration of principles to guide the policies on which their Governments would "base their hopes for a better future for the world". Working from a British draft, the two leaders shaped the joint declaration of 14 August that became known as the "Atlantic Charter".

In the original British version, the two Governments would have sought a peace in which an "effective international organization" would enable nations to live in security. President Roosevelt, concerned about American public opinion with regard to the League of Nations, asked that the phrase be deleted. Prime Minister Churchill, thinking of the possible reaction of the British public to the absence of any reference to the creation of an international peacekeeping organization, offered wording, which Mr. Roosevelt accepted, that the disarmament of aggressive nations was essential "pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security". With this single and indirect reference to the creation of an international organization, the Atlantic Charter was issued.

Less than four months later, the United States was plunged into the war. As the conflict ground on, planning for "a general international organization" intensified in Washington, London and elsewhere. By mid-August 1943, two months before the Moscow Conference, a draft charter for the proposed United Nations had been written. ■

NEWS ALMANAC

Decolonization Committee concludes work

A consolidated resolution on 10 Non-Self-Governing Territories—American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Tokelau, Turks and Caicos Islands, the United States Virgin Islands—and two decisions on St. Helena and Pitcairn were among the texts adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at its 1993 session (10 February–12 August, New York).

In that comprehensive text, the Special Committee reiterated the responsibility of administering Powers to create conditions enabling the peoples of those Territories to exercise, without interference, their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Those administering Powers were also responsible for promoting the economic and social development of the Territories and preserving the cultural identity of their peoples.

The Committee also urged Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume talks on finding a solution to their sovereignty dispute over the Falklands Islands (Malvinas), and welcomed progress towards implementation of the Matignon Accords on New Caledonia.

In other texts, the Committee reiterated that colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories should not be used for nuclear testing, dumping of nuclear waste or deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and condemned the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding implementation of the 1960 decolonization Declaration.

World Court creates Chamber to deal with environmental issues

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) has established a seven-member Chamber for Environmental Matters to review recent developments in the field of environmental law and protection. Its members are Judges Stephen Schwebel, Mohammed Bedjaoui, Jens Evensen, Mohamed Shahabuddeen, Christopher Weeramantry, Raymond Ranjeva and Géza Herczegh.

On 27 August, the World Health Organization (WHO) requested the world Court's advisory opinion on the following question: "In view of the health and environmental effects, would the use of nuclear weapons by a State in war or other armed conflict be a breach of its obligations under international law, including the WHO Constitution?"

A case (Nauru v. Australia) regarding certain phosphate lands in Nauru was removed from the Court's docket on 13 September, after the ICJ Registry was informed by the two parties of their agreement to discontinue the proceedings.

Actress Jane Fonda *(left)*, artist Robert Rauschenberg *(second from right)* and Ms. Fonda's husband, communications executive Ted Turner *(right)*, joined the Secretary-General at Headquarters on 20 September to launch an "awareness campaign" for the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.

Population growth, despite AIDS

Population in the 15 African countries with the highest prevalence of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) will grow rapidly despite the high toll of the disease. Population is expected to double between 1990 and 2015, even though its growth in those countries could be 12 million less due to deaths from AIDS in those countries.

This was the finding of the UN Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, published in the *1992 Revision* of official UN population estimates and projections. World population was estimated to be 5.6 billion at mid-1993, growing at the rate of 1.7 per cent a year, and projected to surpass 8 billion by 2019.

Call for stricter implementation of IMO regulations

International Maritime Organization (IMO) Secretary-General William O'Neill said on 29 September—World Maritime Day—that in the face of a possible degeneration of maritime standards, implementation of existing regulations is the only remedy.

IMO, which deals with maritime safety, navigational efficiency and the prevention of marine polution from ships, faces the possibility that maritime safety may decrease due to neglect on the part of both shipowners and national governments. Mr. O'Neill cited the failure of national governments to regulate shipowners' responsibility in the maintenance and repair of their vessels. It has been reported that, in an effort to economize, shipowners often cut corners in the maintenance of their ships, putting the fleet at greater risk.

Special Envoy visits Sudan

Vieri Traxler, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Humanitarian Affairs for the Sudan, left for that African country on 4 August to assess the humanitarian need and examine the question of access for relief supplies.

Concern over the high cost of relief operations—due to the conflict between the Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), and the fighting between SPLA factions—was voiced at an informal consultation on 28 September, which was attended by donor representatives and chaired by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs. The only real solution to the suffering in Sudan was the end to hostilities, participants said.

Aid mission visits Zaire

An inter-agency humanitarian needs assessment mission arrived in Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire, on 23 August to assess the urgent humanitarian requirements in that central African country, especially in regions of internally displaced people. The World Food Programme announced on 5 July that it would provide emergency food aid to 5,000 malnourished children and their families in the poorest sections of Kinshasa, which had suffered from two years of rioting and massive looting.

UNCITRAL: Model Law on Procurement

A Model Law on Procurement of Goods and Construction was adopted by the UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) at its twenty-sixth session (5-23 July, Vienna). The new model law, under negotiation for seven years, codifies sound public procurement rules designed to ensure transparency, competition and objectivity in the awarding of public contracts.

International Law Commission considers criminal court statute

A 67-article preliminary draft statute for an international criminal court—requested as a matter of priority by the General Assembly in 1992—was considered by the International Law Commission at its forty-fifth session (3 May-23 July, Geneva). The text was to be considered by the forty-eighth Assembly.

A future court would have jurisdiction for crimes or grave breaches of a number of treaties, including those relating to genocide, treatment of prisoners of war, protection of civilians in time of war, unlawful seizure of aircraft, apartheid, crimes against internationally-protected persons, and hostage-taking. It would also have jurisdiction over other crimes recognized under general international and national laws, if States so agree, the draft said.

Other topics on the agenda this year were State responsibility, the law of non-navigational uses of international watercourses, and international liability for injurious consequences arising out of acts not prohibited by international law. Two new topics for its future programme of work are: law and practice relating to reservations to treaties; and State succession and its impact on the nationality of natural and legal persons.

FAO fights major locust plague

Reacting to an "extremely critical" desert locust situation in the summer of 1993, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) sought to prevent the outbreak of a major plague that could last for several years in a broad swath of the world, from West Africa to India. FAO's Emergency Centre for Locust Operations had treated 200,000 hectares of land in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian peninsula in July to control the insect swarms.

STAMP CORNER

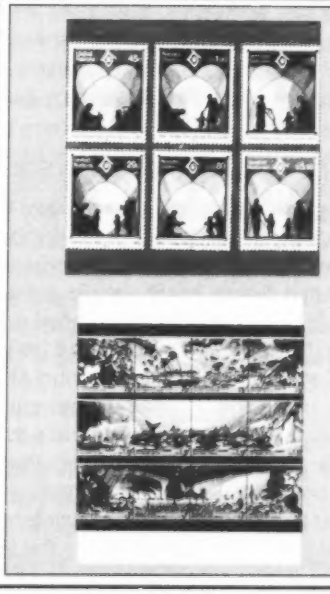
On 4 February 1994, the UN Postal Administration (UNPA) will issue a set of six commemorative stamps on the theme "1994 International Year of the Family". The stamps were designed by Rocco J. Callari, UNPA's Chief Graphic Presentation Officer.

"Designing a UN stamp is a most gratifying project for any artist", Mr. Callari said. "Designing the Year of the Family issue was particularly special because I believe the family is the most important element in building a better society and a better world."

Each stamp contains the emblem of the International Year of the Family, created by Swiss-born artist Catherine Littasy Rollier. The emblem bears a heart sheltered by a roof, linked to another heart, symbolizing life and love in a home.

Each stamp is available in denominations of 29 and 45 United States cents, 0.80 and 1.00 Swiss francs, and 8 Austrian schilling.

Congratulations are in order for artist Braldt Bralds of the Netherlands, whose designs for four commemorative stamps on the theme "Environment—Climate", issued on 29 October by UNPA, were awarded a gold medal at the 36th Annual International Society of Illustrations Show.



DEVELOPMENT FORUM

New body focuses on sustainable development

The High-Level Advisory Board on Sustainable Development, at its first session (13-14 September, New York), decided on a basic work programme for the next two years. It will focus on three areas: linkages between economic, social and political development; new approaches to finance and technology; and establishment of new partnerships between the UN and other bodies in the field of sustainable development. Three working groups were established to address those issues. The 20-member Advisory Board, which was recommended by the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, will assist the Secretary-General in formulating policy by identifying emerging issues. Board Chairman is Bernard Chidzero of Zimbabwe.

UNCTAD Board meets

The 38-member UNCTAD Trade and Development Board held its autumn session from 20 September to 1 October. It was devoted to interdependence and related matters, including the external debt problem of developing countries. At its second part, to be held in spring 1994, the Board will focus on international trade issues.

Work on desertification convention continues

The Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the elaboration of an international convention to combat desertification held its second session in Geneva (13 to 24 September), and heard government proposals on the text of such a convention. Two working groups met during the session: one which developed such provisions as the preamble, principles, objectives and commitments; the other, on institutional, administrative, technological and scientific aspects. The Committee's goal is to produce a convention on desertification by June 1994.

'Unprecedented' disaster exercise

Fourteen search-and-rescue teams from 11 countries participated in Exercise '93 (1-6 September, Austria), described as the first large-scale international exercise in emergency response. Some 2,000 people got a chance to test their skills in responding to a simulated earthquake in "X-land" in the five-day "unprecedented" event, organized by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the Government of Austria. New arrangements for mobilizing international military and civil defence assets were also tested in the field for the first time. Proposed guidelines to improve the handling of emergency situations were to be presented to an international conference—in January 1994 in Oslo, Norway—organized by the UN and co-sponsored by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

World Habitat Day focuses on women and shelter

Women around the world should be full participants in the conception and development of shelters and homes, it was stated at the observance of World Habitat Day in New York on 4 October, with the theme "Women in Shelter Development". The essential drive to improve homes and communities comes mainly from women. The Secretary-General urged Governments to support both women and men in efforts to improve living conditions for themselves and for future generations.

Three housing projects in China, Germany and Australia were given the 1993 World Habitat Day Awards for innovative human settlement projects. The Ju'er Hutong Courtyard Housing Project in Beijing, the Housing Cooperative Ludwig-Franck in Mannheim, and the Phylos Home Project in Perth were recognized at a ceremony in New York on 4 October.

Forum reviews 'Education for All'

Universal primary school enrolment by the year 2000 is within the reach of the world community, concluded some 75 senior policy-makers, educators and other experts who met at the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (EFA) in New Delhi, India, from 8 to 10 September. The estimated additional cost of $10 billion per year needed to attain that goal could be met, they said, by relatively minor reductions in military spending.

Launched on International Literacy Day, the meeting reviewed progress made by the international community in implementing the Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs, adopted at the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand.

In Brief . . .

- After a year of negotiations under the auspices of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), a new International Cocoa Agreement was adopted on 16 July by the 1992 UN Cocoa Conference, in which 44 countries participated. The Agreement should provide a basis for cooperation between cocoa producing and consuming countries that would lead to a better balance between supply and demand, Conference President Peter Lai of Malaysia said.
- The publication of the *1993 World Investment Report* was announced on 20 July by Khalil A. Hamdani, Interim Executive Officer of the Centre on Transnational Corporations of UNCTAD. In introducing the report, he said that the activities of transnational corporations were advancing the global economy at an unprecedented scale.
- After a 7-year hiatus, the United States has resumed its role as a major donor to the UN Population Fund (UNFPA). In September, the United States contributed $14.5 million to the 1993 Fund, followed by a $40-million donation in October for 1994. ■

BookWatch

Ralph Bunche: An American Life

By Brian Urquhart
W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1993
496 pp. $27.50 ISBN 0-393-03527-1

UN Photo

At a 1956 meeting, Mr. Bunche *(right)* and Mr. Urquhart *(left)*, with Maj.-Gen. E.L.M. Burns of Canada, Chief of a UN Command *(centre)*.

Ralph Johnson Bunche served as UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs from 1954 until his death in December 1971 at the age of 68. Sir Brian Urquhart, renowned in his own right for a long and distinguished career at the UN—he was the second staff member hired for the Secretariat—was Mr. Bunche's chief assistant through those 17 years, as well as his successor. Sir Brian, of the United Kingdom, has written an honest and inspiring biography of this extraordinary American who, by character, education and historical circumstance, became a citizen of the world.

"As will be clear from this book", Sir Brian writes, "I had the greatest respect and affection for him, and my feelings are, of course, reflected in what I have written." His close association with Mr. Bunche and more than 40 years of experience in the Secretariat make this biography especially valuable as a source for UN history. It complements the Urquhart study, *Hammarskjöld* (1972), and his autobiography, *A Life in Peace and War* (1987).

Mr. Bunche—the first black to win the Nobel Peace Prize—was involved with the UN before it was established. Beginning in January 1944, he was a member of the group in the United States Department of State responsible for the research and analysis needed in planning the proposed world organization. He also participated in the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, the San Francisco Conference, and the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. In short, Ralph Bunche assisted at the birth of the UN.

The academic life

Prior to his UN career, there was life as a university professor and political scientist. Even before receiving his doctorate from Harvard University, Mr. Bunche had been called to Howard University to establish a department of government. His doctoral dissertation, *French Administration in Togoland and Dahomey* (1934), scholarly articles on minorities, his book, *A World View of Race* (1936), and several thousand pages of monographs researched and written for the use of Swedish social economist Gunnar Myrdal in preparing the now classic *An American Dilemma*, underscored Mr. Bunche's formidable intellectual and academic qualifications.

From the beginning, Mr. Bunche was deeply involved in the shaping of the Organization. As the first Director of the Trusteeship Division, he was influential in the development of the Trusteeship Council. His service during the Palestine crisis of 1948-1949 as the Chief Representative of the Secretary-General and, following the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte, as Acting Mediator brought him to world attention. For his achievement in mediating armistice agreements between Israel and its neighbours, Mr. Bunche was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.

Using Bunche's personal notes, correspondence and papers, Sir Brian reveals Bunche the private man, concerned about his wife and children when UN work took him away for extended periods, and Bunche the international civil servant, wrestling with conflicts in Palestine, Suez, Lebanon, the Congo, Cyprus, Kashmir, as well as the "Six-Day War" in 1967.

Under Mr. Bunche's guidance, the UN used quiet diplomacy in 1969 and 1970 to help resolve a dispute over the future of Bahrain, an early demonstration of the potential value of preventive diplomacy. He became, Sir Brian writes, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld's "most trusted colleague".

Setting precedents

Much of Bunche's work established precedents. Sir Brian observes that Mr. Bunche "had set up and directed the pioneering truce-observation in the Middle East in 1948 and had written the basic principles, procedures and rules of conduct for that operation". He was the logical choice for supervising the creation in 1956 of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF), the Organization's first such operation.

True to his ideals, Mr. Bunche closely followed the civil rights struggle in his own country, participating when possible, working for moderation and integration. Anguishing over the war in Indochina, he sought its early end.

Biographer Urquhart believes that "one of the most important sources of Ralph Bunche's strength was his unswerving commitment to general principles and basic objectives, a vision that encompassed events without becoming hostage to them. However murky the political climate, however steep or treacherous the path, he knew where he was going and how he should conduct himself." This fine biography makes the case splendidly.

Reviewed by Professor Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

January-March 1994

New York

12 January	States Parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 15th meeting
17-21 January	Preparatory Committee for the 1995 Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 2nd session
17 January-4 February	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 13th session
31 January-11 February	Preparatory Committee for the World Summit for Social Development, 1st session
7-18 February	Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy and on Energy for Development, 1st session
7-18 March	Commission on the Status of Women, 38th session
21 March-8 April	Human Rights Committee, 50th session
28-31 March	Population Commission, 27th session

Geneva

10-28 January	Committee on the Rights of the Child, 5th session
31 January-11 March	Commission on Human Rights, 50th session
January-March	Conference on Disarmament, first part
28 February-18 March	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 44th session

Vienna

21 February-4 March	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, 31st session
7-11 March	UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 43rd session
21 March-8 April	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Legal Subcommittee, 33rd session

Other Locations

7-18 February	INSTRAW—Board of Trustees, 14th session, Santo Domingo
February-March	Preparatory Commission for the International Seabed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, 12th session, Kingston
March-April	ESCAP, 50th session, New Delhi

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Please read each question carefully and mark the appropriate box or fill out the blank space. Please print or type.)

1. Which of the following best describes your acquaintance with this issue of the **UN Chronicle**?

   ☐ My employer/organization is a subscriber
   ☐ I am an individual subscriber
   ☐ I/my office bought it
   ☐ Through a friend/relative/peer/teacher
   ☐ I received a free copy
   ☐ Through a library
   ☐ Other (specify): _____

2. Where did you see/read this issue of the **UN Chronicle**?

   ☐ At home
   ☐ At a public library
   ☐ At a school/university library
   ☐ At a UN office/information centre
   ☐ At a non-governmental organization
   ☐ Other (specify): _____

3. How often do you read the **UN Chronicle**?

   ☐ Regularly
   ☐ Occasionally
   ☐ Rarely
   ☐ I just saw/read it for the first time

4. Why do you read the **UN Chronicle**? (Check all that apply and circle the most important.)

   ☐ To use in my own research
   ☐ It is useful for a class I'm teaching
   ☐ It is useful for a class I'm taking
   ☐ For information about UN conferences and meetings
   ☐ To keep abreast of the UN Secretary-General's activities
   ☐ For information on UN operations worldwide, such as (specify): _____
   ☐ General interest in world affairs
   ☐ For pleasure
   ☐ Other (specify): _____

5. How many people share/read your copy of the **UN Chronicle**?

   ☐ No one else
   ☐ 1 additional person
   ☐ 2 to 5 additional people
   ☐ 6 to 9 additional people
   ☐ 10 or more additional people
   ☐ I don't know/cannot estimate

6. Excluding the **UN Chronicle**, which specialized magazines covering UN-related issues or international affairs do you read, subscribe to, or purchase regularly?

   (a) _____
   (b) _____

7. How does the **UN Chronicle** compare with other specialized magazines covering . . .

	Better than most	About as good	Not as good	Not sure
...the United Nations	☐	☐	☐	☐
...international affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Which other magazines/journals of any kind do you read, subscribe to, or purchase regularly?

   (a) _____
   (b) _____

9. How important to your professional or personal interests are the following sections of the **UN Chronicle**:

	Critical	Very Imp.	Somewhat Imp.	Not Imp.	Not sure
Cover stories	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Political news	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other UN news	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Features	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The 38th floor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Development Forum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Look Back	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
BookWatch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
News Almanac	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Stamp Corner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coming Up	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. What would you like to see more of in the **UN Chronicle**?

    _____
    _____

11. What would you like to see less of in the **UN Chronicle**?

    _____
    _____

12. What, in your opinion, should be the periodicity of the **UN Chronicle**?

    ☐ Monthly ☐ Bimonthly ☐ Quarterly

13. If the **UN Chronicle** were sold at the newsstand, what do you think the price should be? (US$)

☐ $10 ☐ $8 ☐ $6
☐ $4 ☐ $2 ☐ Other: ___

14. Regarding the quality of the articles in this issue of the **UN Chronicle**, please rate the following:

	Excellent	Very good	Fair	Poor	Not sure
Depth of coverage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editorial balance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Thoroughness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Timeliness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing style	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. How would you rate the following aspects of the **UN Chronicle**:

	Excellent	Very good	Fair	Poor	Not sure
Ease of reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Layout/design	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Printing quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of photographs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of graphs and charts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Based on this issue of the **UN Chronicle**, how much do you agree/disagree with the following statements about its content:

	Strongly agree 5	4	3	2	Strongly disagree 1
(a) It contributes to a better understanding of the UN role in world affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b) It helps to explain how the UN works	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c) It provides adequate factual information on UN issues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d) It gives greater detail on key international issues than most specialized publications	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. Please feel free to comment on any aspect of this issue of the **UN Chronicle**:

_____
_____
_____

18. Finally, please tell us something about yourself:

(a) I am: ☐ Male ☐ Female

(b) My age is:

☐ Under 25 ☐ 25 - 34 ☐ 35 - 44
☐ 45 - 54 ☐ 55 - 64 ☐ 65 or over

(c) My profession is: _____

(d) My field of work/occupation is:

☐ Non-governmental organization
☐ International organization
☐ Government
☐ Media organization
☐ Business/Industry
☐ Academia/Education
☐ Student
☐ Retiree
☐ Self-employed
☐ Other (specify) _____

(e) The highest level of education I attained is:

☐ Secondary/High School
☐ Technical/Vocational School
☐ Some college
☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ Postgraduate work
☐ Postgraduate degree
☐ Doctoral work
☐ Doctoral degree

19. OPTIONAL ENTRY (please print or type):

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7. Lester B. Pearson	Canada	1952
8. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	India	1953
9. Eelco N. van Kleffens	Netherlands	1954
10. José Maza	Chile	1955
11. Prince Wan Waithayakon	Thailand	1956
12. Sir Leslie Munro	New Zealand	1957
13. Charles Malik	Lebanon	1958
14. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde	Peru	1959
15. Frederick H. Boland	Ireland	1960
16. Mongi Slim	Tunisia	1961
17. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1962
18. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez	Venezuela	1963
19. Alex Quaison-Sackey	Ghana	1964
20. Amintore Fanfani	Italy	1965
21. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	Afghanistan	1966
22. Corneliu Manescu	Romania	1967
23. Emilio Arenales Catalán	Guatemala	1968
24. Angie E. Brooks	Liberia	1969
25. Edvard Hambro	Norway	1970
26. Adam Malik	Indonesia	1971
27. Stanislaw Trepczynski	Poland	1972
28. Leopoldo Benites	Ecuador	1973
29. Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria	1974
30. Gaston Thorn	Luxembourg	1975
31. H. S. Amerasinghe	Sri Lanka	1976
32. Lazar Mojsov	Yugoslavia	1977
33. Indalecio Liévano	Colombia	1978
34. Salim A. Salim	United Republic of Tanzania	1979
35. Rüdiger von Wechmar	Federal Republic of Germany	1980
36. Ismat T. Kittani	Iraq	1981
37. Imre Hollai	Hungary	1982
38. Jorge E. Illueca	Panama	1983
39. Paul J. F. Lusaka	Zambia	1984
40. Jaime de Piniés	Spain	1985
41. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	Bangladesh	1986
42. Peter Florin	German Democratic Republic	1987
43. Dante M. Caputo	Argentina	1988
44. Joseph Nanven Garba	Nigeria	1989
45. Guido de Marco	Malta	1990
46. Samir S. Shihabi	Saudi Arabia	1991
47. Stoyan Ganev	Bulgaria	1992
48. Samuel R. Insanally	Guyana	1993

General Assembly Presidents normally preside over special and emergency special sessions of the world body during their tenure. The exceptions were: José Arce of Argentina, who presided over the second special session in 1948, and Rudecindo Ortega of Chile, who presided over the first and second emergency special sessions held in 1956.